

A study of the older
Protestant missions and churches
in Peru and Chile

*With special reference to the problems of division,
nationalism and native ministry*

J. B. A. Kessler Jr.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

PERU	CHILE
1822 ff. Thomson's school & colportage work	1821 Thomson's school work
1849 First Anglican chaplain in Lima	1837 First Anglican chaplain in Valpo.
1859 Swaney starts a seamen's mission in Callao	1838-41 Gardiner tries to reach the Araucanians
1864 Murphy starts Anglican chaplaincy at Callao	1847 Trumbull organizes a Union church in Valpo.
1888 Penzotti plants a Peruvian congregation at Callao	1863 Trumbull's controversy about prayers for rain
1892 Wood plants a Methodist congregation in Lima	1865 Interpretative act passed by congress
1896 Bright plants an independent congregation in Lima	1868 f. Spanish-speaking work begins at Stgo. & Valpo.
1898 Work established permanently at Cuzco	1877 Christen begins Instituto Internacional at Stgo.
1904 Pilgrim Holiness work begins in Chiclayo, and R.B.M.U. work in Arequipa	1878 Taylor plants self-supporting missions
1909 Adventist work begins in the Lake Titicaca area	1883 Allis opens theological seminary in Stgo.
1911 Ritchie starts publishing <i>El Herald</i>	1888 Methodists begin Spanish preaching in the north
1915 Congress permits liberty of worship	1889 Vidaurre tries to plant a self-supporting church at Valpo.
1916 Mackay organizes Anglo-Peruvian college at Lima	1893 Methodists begin Spanish work in the south
1917 Committee on co-operation formed in Lima. Nazarene work started in Pacasmayo	1894 First Adventist colporteurs
1919 Start of F.C.S. work in Cajamarca and of Pentecostal work in the Callejon de Huaylas	1895 Start of S.A.M.S. work among the Araucanians
1922 I.E.P. constitution approved at Muyuyayuyo	1897 Weiss begins work among German Baptists
1926 C.M.A. re-opens work at Huánuco	1908 McDonald separates from Weiss & the C.M.A. to form a Baptist union
1929 Ritchie resigns from the E.U.S.A.	1909 Pentecostals separate from M.E. churches in Stgo.
1931 Herniman begins short-term Quechua Bible schools and Jardine starts work in Ayaviri	1910 Hoover separates from M.E. church and founds the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal
1933 Peruvian Bible Institute opened	1917 Southern Baptists begin co-operating with McDonald
1936 Pentecostal Bible Institute opened	1929 Division of C.M.A. work
1940 National Evangelical Council organized. Independent Presbyterians separate from the I.E.P.	1933 Hoover's supporters form Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal
1946 Enlarged Adventist college opens outside Lima	1946 Chavez expelled by Umaña forms the Iglesia Pentecostal de Chile
1950 Control of the Asambleas de Dios given to nationals and many missionaries withdrawn	1952 Pavéz and others separate from the Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal to form the Misión Iglesia Pentecostal
1954 The C.M.A. separates from the I.E.P.	1960 S.A.M.S. begins work directed specifically to Chileans
	1963 Presbyterian church becomes autonomous

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PREFACE

'The evil that men do lives after them, the good is oft interred with their bones'. These words attributed by Shakespeare to Mark Antony in his funeral oration for Julius Caesar apply to this thesis as to any human endeavour. The good may, or may not come to light, but the very act of searching for it helps to perpetuate the remembrance of things that would be better forgotten. Mission leaders are fully aware of this and the frankness shown the writer during his research is, therefore, all the more remarkable.

Apart from the customary restriction on private letters and board minutes less than fifty years old, nothing was withheld. Some leaders, such as Macdonald Hennell of the Evangelical Union of South America, read through later board minutes so as to be able to answer questions about them, while others answered from memory. Merayne Copplestone and John Sinclair of the Methodist and the Presbyterian missions respectively, in New York, went to considerable trouble to find the best documentary evidence for the writer. Herbert Money in Lima turned out his cupboards, and the writer has happy memories of raising clouds of dust together with Torgrimson in Chiclayo and "Jerry" Williams in Iquique, in an effort to gather evidence from old files piled up in the store-rooms. The writer is also very grateful to the American Bible Society in New York, and the British and Foreign Bible Society and the South America Missionary Society in London for the photocopies sent of materials which were found to be missing in the preliminary documentation.

As the opportunity presented itself, many went a second mile. The gracious hospitality given by the agent of the United Bible Societies in Lima, by those of the Evangelical Union of South America in Arequipa, by the Methodists in Iquique, by the Anglicans in Santiago and Concepción and by those of the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Temuco made an indelible impression. Then a word of appreciation is certainly due to the veteran preacher Juan de Dios Guerrero, who accompanied the writer on many evangelistic journeys in the mountains of Peru, and whose rich store of reminiscences gave the first stimulus to a closer study of the history of the Protestant Church in that country. The writer is also indebted to many who made helpful criticisms of the first drafts and especially to Margaret, his wife, for her devoted help in the work of correction.

The writer would like further to express his appreciation of the help given him by all members of the theological faculty of the university of Utrecht; to you Professor Hulst for help with the Hebrew

language and the insight you imparted in biblical archaeology; to you Professor Loën for your lucid introduction to the problems of philosophy; to you Professor Obbink for showing me both the relationship and the difference between Christianity and the other world religions; to you Professor Quispel for the way you opened the fascinating world of early church history for me; and to you Professor Van Iterzon for tracing the development of this beginning in the later church history; to you Professor De Graaf for the appreciation you aroused in me for the subject of ethics; to you Professor Vriezen and Dr. Brongers for making the Old Testament live for me as never before, and for your introduction to the Dead Sea scrolls; to you Professor Van Unnik and Dr. Klijn for all the light you shed on the New Testament; and to you Professor Van Ruler for your introduction into the field of dogmatics. Although I have not had the privilege of attending any of their lectures I would like to thank Professors Jonker, Doeve, S. van der Linde, Hoens, Bronkhorst, Frankena and Brümmer for their publications, some of which I have been able to read. I would like to thank you Professor Hoekendijk for all your help in my doctoral studies and for your wise suggestions as I started to write this thesis. My regret is that you cannot be present to see it finished. Finally a special word of appreciation is due to you Professor Van der Linde for taking over the direction of this work after Professor Hoekendijk's departure; your help and encouragement have been invaluable.

Through the human help so freely and so kindly given, the writer has been profoundly conscious of God's help. Time after time when further progress seemed to be impossible because vital information was missing, someone came forward with an excellent suggestion, or the writer stumbled on an alternative source as if by accident. At a deeper level, the writer has been conscious of God's Spirit urging him on and granting him fresh strength to finish the job. May this thesis then be of some help to all those concerned with the work of the church in Peru and Chile, be they Roman Catholic or Protestant, Anglican or Pentecostal.

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ABBREVIATIONS

USED BOTH IN THE TEXT AND ELSEWHERE

A.B.S.	American Bible Society 450 Park Avenue, N.Y. 10022, U.S.A.
B.F.B.S.	British and Foreign Bible Society 146 Queen Victoria St., London E.C. 4.
C.M.A.	Christian and Missionary Alliance 260 West 44th. St., N.Y.
E.U.S.A.	Evangelical Union of South America, 6 Novar Rd., London S.E. 9
F.C.S.	Free Church of Scotland, The Mound, Edinburgh
I.E.P.	Iglesia Evangélica Peruana, Apartado 2866, Lima
M.E.	Methodist Episcopal (now the Methodist Church of America) The Inter Church Center, 475 Riverside Drive, N.Y. 10027
R.B.M.U.	Regions Beyond Missionary Union, 99 Thurleigh Rd., London S.W. 12
S.A.M.S.	South American Missionary Society, 20 John St., London W.C. 1
S.D.A.	Seventh Day Adventist, 6840 Eastern Avenue, Takoma Park, Washington D.C.

ABBREVIATIONS

USED ONLY IN THE FOOTNOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY AND INDEXES

B.F.M.P.	Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
G.A.F.C.S.	General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland
Idem	The same work as that quoted immediately above
I.R.M.	<i>International Review of Missions</i> , quarterly magazine published by the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism of the World Council of Churches. Geneva, Lon. & N.Y.
Me. F.	Methodist Files at the Inter Church Center, N.Y.
Me. L.B.	Methodist Letter Book also at the Inter Church Center
Op. Cit.	The work of the same author quoted in full earlier in the chapter. Once another work by this author is quoted, then for the rest of the chapter all his works are indicated by the first words of their titles.
P.F.	Presbyterian Files at the Inter Church Center N.Y. or at the Presby- terian center in Stgo.
P.M.	Presbyterian Microfilms at the Inter Church Center N.Y.
s.a.	The work is undated

Certain place and state names are abbreviated such as Lon. (London, England), N.Y. (New York), Pa. (Pennsylvania), Stgo. (Santiago, Chile), Tenn. (Tennessee), U.S.A. (United States of America) and Valpo. (Valparaiso).

The following months of the year have been shortened: Jan., Feb., Mar., Aug., Sept., Oct., Nov., Dec., and further such standard abbreviations have been used as: & for and, f. after a numeral for the next number, ff. after a numeral for the next two numbers, no. for number, p. for page, pp. for pages, and vol. for volume.

The abbreviations used in the bibliography to indicate where some of the works may be found are listed at the beginning of the bibliography.

PROLOGUE

a. The three questions which motivated this study

John Ritchie, one of the pioneer missionaries of the R.B.M.U., who sailed for Peru in 1906 and devoted nearly all of the remaining 46 years of his life to the work in that country, harboured the ideal of uniting all the Protestant work in Peru in one broad and flexible church. When the writer arrived in Peru in 1949 this ideal had already suffered cruel reverses, but something of it remained, especially among the Peruvians. By 1958, when the writer left Peru, nobody considered the ideal a practical proposition anymore, and during his visit in 1964 it seemed as if hardly anyone felt the loss. The first question, therefore, is, why did all these splits take place, first among the foreign missions, and later among the Peruvians themselves? It is customary in Evangelical missionary circles to point to a lack of consecration as the cause, but under certain circumstances it has been the desire for consecration which has led to a division. It is customary in Ecumenical circles to believe that splits are bad for a church, and yet examples can be found of churches which have multiplied through division and have been sanctified after schism. The usual answers, therefore, need re-examination.

In 1952 a Peruvian church leader asked the writer reproachfully to name a division in Peru which had not been caused by foreigners. (The writer now knows that he could have given one or two examples even then.) In Peru divisions between missionaries have undoubtedly played a part in stimulating nationalistic reaction against foreign missions, yet in Chile similar reactions have arisen when there was no such division. The second question is, therefore, what is this nationalism and what causes it? The Spanish possessions in South America were emancipated from colonialism at the beginning of the nineteenth century and, therefore, the Peruvian or Chilean nationalism which has manifested itself in this century must not be compared too readily with that of many young nations in Africa and Asia to-day.

The third question is connected with the establishment of a national ministry. The missions working in Peru recognized this need at an early stage and tried their best to train such a ministry both in long and short term Bible schools. Yet when the rise of nationalism underlined the fact that the churches could not survive without a national ministry it was found that few of the graduates of these Bible schools were in the ministry at all. The answer usually given was that the congregations were too poor to support a pastor. Yet those congregations in Peru which could support a pastor often needed much persuasion before they

would call one and too often made his task very difficult when he did come. How then to provide and establish a suitable ministry for the young churches?

b. The limitations of this study

The field of research has been restricted to Peru and Chile; Peru because the above-mentioned questions were formulated there, and Chile because although it presents similarities to Peru it is sufficiently different to make a comparison possible which is both valid and significant. A comparison of Peru with either Bolivia or Ecuador would certainly be valid, but the differences are so much fewer that a comparison might not be sufficiently significant. On the other hand a comparison of Peru with Brazil might no longer be valid because the differences are too great. Consideration has been limited to those missions which have had a history of fifty years or more since the arrival of the first pioneer and which during that time have become established national churches. Only after the pioneering stage has been passed do the three above-mentioned problems really come to the fore. Besides, the restriction usually placed on private correspondence and board minutes less than fifty years old, means that a longer span is needed in order to gain a real insight into the vital early years of a movement. After a description of the establishment of Protestantism in the two countries in chapters two to four, the churches practising infant baptism are considered in chapters five to eleven, followed by the churches practising adult baptism in chapters twelve to eighteen. The churches in which the baptism of the Spirit is given prominence are considered in chapters nineteen to twenty-one and finally the last two chapters are devoted to the drawing of conclusions.

Mention must be made of the more important missions and churches which the above-mentioned restrictions have eliminated. The Salvation Army arrived in Chile in 1909 and in Peru one year later. In Chile they have established men's hostels in eight of the larger towns, and in Santiago they also have a maternity home. In Peru they have developed their work in four cities and they also run summer camps on the beach for poorer children from Lima. Their efforts have everywhere been greatly appreciated and have served to awaken a desire, especially in the Pentecostal churches in Chile, to undertake similar work. Nevertheless, in spite of its age, the Salvation Army in Chile and Peru has never become a church in the sense that the other missions have turned into churches. The possible reasons for this will have to be examined later. Mention should also be made of the Centros Bíblicos in Chile, a church that arose from the work of the Soldiers and Gospel Mission of South America. This mission was founded by William M. Strong who first went to Chile in 1923¹. Further there are the Asambleas de Dios

¹ Edith Nanz, *Soldiering for Christ*. Grand Rapids 1942. pp. 7 ff.

churches in Chile which have developed out of the mission undertaken since 1941 by North American Pentecostals to help the indigenous Pentecostal churches.

In Peru independent Baptist churches sprang up in Trujillo and Iquitos and in one or two other places a long time ago. The Irish Baptists started work around Puno and Tacna in the extreme south of the country in 1927. The Southern Baptists from the United States started work in Lima in 1950 and have recently been extending their work considerably. Very interesting is the story of the Wycliffe Bible Translators who since 1943 have entered Peru with a view to reaching the tribes in the Amazon basin and have reduced many of their languages to writing and have translated portions of the New Testament for them². The work of the Schweizer Indianer Mission which has sought to give systematic Bible teaching to those who have been contacted by the Wycliffe Bible Translators, should also be mentioned.

A third restriction arises from the fact that the writer was not able to find some of the documentary evidence. The early copies of *Renacimiento* edited by Ritchie in Lima are missing. In 1921 John Ritchie wrote a series of articles for this magazine on the history of the Peruvian Protestant church, but efforts to locate these numbers have failed, in fact most of the documentation of the I.E.P. before 1930 is missing. So are most of the letters from Thomas Wood in Peru. The writer located a few which appeared in *Evangelical Christendom*, the organ of the Evangelical Alliance published in London. More serious is the fact that almost all the letters written by the Methodist missionaries in the years 1909 to 1911 from Chile to the headquarters in New York have been lost. The magazine *Chile Evangélico* edited by Enrique Koppmann in Concepción, in 1909 and 1910 has also disappeared. Neither could the writer locate any of the early numbers of *El Heraldo Evangélico* published by the Presbyterians in Santiago. These last three losses are to be regretted because of the extra light they might have shed on the break between the Methodists and the Pentecostals in the years 1909 to 1911.

The numbers of *Chile Pentecostal*, the official organ of the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal from 1934–1959 which formed part of the late bishop Manuel Umaña's library, were all in packing cases at the time of the writer's visit to Santiago. Fortunately copies of the most important numbers were later found in the old Pentecostal church in Concepción. The Adventist records in Chile up to 1950 were destroyed by fire, and their records in Lima were stored in an attic so that it was not possible to get them down in time. Two days before his departure from New York the writer was offered three trunks full of letters written by the Presbyterian missionaries in Chile since 1910. It was

² Ethel E. Wallis & Mary A. Bennett, *Two Thousand Tongues to go*. N.Y. 1959. pp. 152–201.

impossible in the time to examine this store, but this material will certainly repay careful study.

c. An evaluation of these limitations

The fact that Chile is studied in the light of problems that have arisen in Peru means that Chile has not been given the chance to pose its own problems, but the story of the Chilean work shows that mostly the same questions arise there as in Peru. The problems which are special to Chile relate almost entirely to the Pentecostal churches, and in this respect Peru does not provide the necessary material for comparison. Brazil probably would, but for this a vast and entirely new study would be needed. As to the restriction imposed by missing documentary evidence, the writer has been fortunate in being able to question people who were either closely connected with, or were eye-witnesses of the events described. Their testimony differs in matters of detail, but not in the larger issues, and for this reason it is unlikely that additional evidence would demand that different conclusions be drawn. The materials for this thesis were selected because of their direct or indirect relevance to the problems of division, nationalism and native ministry. This choice was determined by the writer's experience in Peru. The mission with which he worked believed firmly in Roland Allen's "indigenous principles"³ and yet the attempts to put these principles into effect only seemed to lead to division, to an anti-missionary feeling and to a failure to build up an adequate native ministry. As will appear later, these difficulties were caused partly by the way in which Allen's principles had been applied in that part of Peru in which the writer was working and partly by Allen's principles themselves. However, as the research for this thesis progressed it became increasingly clear that all the Protestant churches in Peru and Chile, whether they adhered to Allen's principles or not, had been faced in some degree with the above-mentioned problems. These problems must then be inherent in the situation in which Protestant churches find themselves in these two countries. As a result, what had originally been meant as a restriction in subject matter, did not in the event prove to be an effective one, so that this thesis has come to cover almost the whole of the development of the missions and churches concerned, for without this wider view the original questions could not have been answered.

³ Peter Beyerhaus & Henry Lefever, *The Responsible Church and the Foreign Mission*. Lon. 1964. pp. 33-39.

CHAPTER I

A SKETCH OF THE BACKGROUND TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROTESTANTISM

a. The general background in Peru

Peru's surface area of 496,222 square miles can be divided into three long strips lying parallel to the coast. The coastal belt, which is in most places quite narrow, is rainless and in consequence desert, except for those places where small rivers coming down from the mountains provide for irrigation. The main towns to the north are Piura, Chiclayo and Trujillo, and in the south Ica, Nazca, Arequipa and Tacna. In the centre lies Lima, which since the conquest has always been by far the largest of these coastal towns. The second strip is called the "Sierra" (meaning saw) and comprises the Andes mountains with its western and eastern ranges and between them fertile and thickly populated valleys lying at an altitude of 9,000 to 11,500 feet. The main towns in the Sierra have grown up in these valleys; Cajamarca to the north, Tarma, Jauja and Huancayo in the centre, and Andahuaylas, Cuzco and Sicuani in the south. Above these valleys there are extensive grazing lands, called "punas", where scattered Indians live by tending their flocks. Here too, wherever the ground is more open, towns have sprung up, such as Carhuamayo and Junin in the centre and Ayaviri, Juliaca and Puno in the south. Still higher at altitudes from 14,000 to nearly 16,000 feet, rich mineral veins occur. At these places mining towns have sprung up of which Cerro de Pasco and Morococha are the most important. Indians come to these mining towns for a limited time to earn money, so that the population is constantly changing.

Beyond the Andes chain lie the deep valleys and the immense jungles which form the Peruvian part of the Amazon basin. This belt is called the "montaña" and includes half the surface area of Peru. Until recently the area was only sparsely populated by savage tribes. Apart from roads which are now being built and airways which are also under development the sole means of communication is provided by the headwaters of the Amazon. Iquitos, the only big town in the area, lies at the point where the Amazon proper begins. Much Protestant missionary work is now being carried on in this area, largely by the faith missions which have poured into Peru after the Second World War. The older churches are found mostly on the coast and in the Sierra.

Before the times of the Incas, the coast counted several distinct im-

portant, civilizations. Their isolation from each other by large stretches of desert meant that when the mountain Indians were finally unified under the sway of the Incas, the coastal civilizations were conquered one by one. As a result when the Spaniards arrived under Pizarro in 1532 to start their conquest, they found the whole country under the control of the Inca with his capital in Cuzco. The coastal civilizations were even more open and defenceless to invasion from the sea than they had been to attack from the mountains. The coastal Peruvians became fully integrated into the national life of their new conquerors and a Creole¹ culture developed which although not identical with that of Spain was dominated in every respect by the Spanish influence. In the Sierra the Spanish conquest was resisted, and while from a military point of view this resistance proved to be ineffective, from a cultural point of view it has been surprisingly tough and enduring. The Spaniards occupied the valleys, while many of the Indians withdrew to the heights where they, because of their large lungs, could live comfortably. Where the Indian could not avoid living with the Spaniard he withdrew into himself. There was some inter-marriage, but it is estimated that 50 % of the Peruvian population of 10,364,620 in 1961 is of nearly pure Indian descent. Because of the great development of mines in the central highlands during the last sixty or seventy years Quechua has largely given way to Spanish in this area, but in the south Quechua still predominates outside the bigger towns. The Sierra has influential pockets of Creole influence in the major towns and in the main houses of the "haciendas" (big farms), but the Indian culture still prevails in the countryside.

The Sierra contains some secondary lines of division which run perpendicular to the coast. Around Cuzco the Indian is at his most degraded and cringing. Northwards towards Andahuaylas or to the south around Ayaviri the Indian becomes somewhat more enterprising and independent. In the centre as already mentioned, Spanish is more common, also literacy is greater and many of the Indians are freeholders. Around Cajamarca the Indian is often independent but the literacy rate is not as high as in the centre. Right in the south on the south-western shores of lake Titicaca the language of the Indians suddenly switches to Aymará. In contrast with the Quechua Indians on the plains to the north of lake Titicaca, who are mainly employed in big farms, the Aymará Indians are mostly freeholders.

b. Peruvian religion

According to Garcilasso de la Vega, whose mother was of royal Inca blood, and who was brought up in Indian circles in Cuzco, the Indians

¹ Creole used as a noun refers to persons of Spanish descent born in America. Creole used as an adjective refers to the Spanish American culture they established.

before the time of the Incas worshipped herbs and plants, high hills and great rocks, fountains and rivers, mother earth and great snow mountains². The Incas taught these Indians to worship the sun and established their ritual in all the territories they conquered. It is clear, however, from the Spanish accounts that at the time of the conquest the Indians were still serving their old deities in addition to the new religion which the Incas had imposed upon them³. The Incas were heads not only of the state but also of religion. The Spaniards, for whom throne and altar were also closely connected, realized intuitively that they would never really be masters of the land till they had eliminated both the Incas and their sun worship. As a result of the evangelization by the Roman Catholic church, but even more because of the forcible measures the Spaniards adopted, they succeeded in abolishing the sun religion⁴. Nevertheless the underlying older beliefs of the Indians remained in spite of the efforts made by various Roman Catholic councils held in Lima to extirpate idolatry⁵.

This problem is not confined to the Roman Catholic church. David Milnes, a medical missionary who has worked for many years among the Indians, was told by one of the evangelists that many of the Evangelical believers who come to the spiritual conventions in southern Peru are still slaves to the old religious practices⁶. More important than the practices themselves, which in some cases have become little more than superstitions, is the Indian's conviction that he is in the hands of an immutable, capricious fate to which he must resign himself. Various factors, economic, social, educational and geographical would combine to make the plight of the Indian difficult at the best of times, but it is this pessimistic fatalism which more than anything chains him to his desperate poverty and degradation. Furthermore this fatalistic attitude has affected the "mestizos"⁷ who form the large majority of the remainder of the population. Syncretism exists, therefore, in a more or less blatant form among the Indians and subtly among the majority of the remaining Peruvians.

In 1964 the Maryknoll fathers from the United States tried to persuade the people living in Cerro Colorado, a non-Indian suburb of Arequipa, not to spend their money on fireworks and drinks during the religious processions. According to Genaro Santos, an Evangelical preacher, the inhabitants of Cerro Colorado were afterwards complaining that "these priests are Protestants and do not want us to

² Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*. Lon. Hakluyt Society 1869. I pp. 47 + 49.

³ William H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru*. Lon. 1893. I p. 43. See also J. Alden Mason, *The Ancient Civilizations of Peru*. Lon. 1961², p. 207.

⁴ Johann Specker, *Die Missionsmethode in Spanisch Amerika im 16. Jahrhundert*. Beckenried 1953. p. 199.

⁵ Idem. pp. 117 and 121; G. H. S. Bushnell, *Peru*. Lon. 1956. p. 137.

⁶ David T. Milnes, *Inca Stronghold*. Lon. 1959. p. 26.

⁷ Mestizos are those of mixed Spanish and Indian descent.

continue our traditions”⁸. Similar incidents reported from other parts of Peru, lend support to what the writer has intuitively long believed, namely that for a large segment of the Peruvian population religion is all too often a projection of popular aspirations. Traditions which stem partly from an Indian background, such as the drinking during religious festivals and even the pouring out of drink offerings to “Mother Earth”⁹ are kept up even by some of those who would not for a moment consider themselves Indian, because they express the collective consciousness of the large majority of the Peruvians.

In this thesis mention will often have to be made of the way in which the Roman Catholic priests have opposed Protestant work. The opinion still held amongst most Protestants in Peru is that the priests and not the people have been responsible for this opposition. On occasions this may have been true, but the writer believes that basically the priests have acted as representatives of the people and that in general the people have been happy to use the priests as instruments for the maintenance of their own traditions, while at the same time disclaiming any responsibility for the opposition. This identification of popular Catholicism with the traditions of the people, has naturally led to a reaction on the part of those in whom the Spanish influence is really dominant. Those who belong to the latter group say outrightly that the Indian will never make a priest¹⁰ and the writer has at least on one occasion heard it said that the Indian is a donkey who will never understand anything of religion. The outward unity of Peruvian Catholicism hides, therefore, deep inner tensions.

c. The historical background in Peru

Peru was one of the richest of the Spanish-American possessions. Lima with its viceroy was for long the administrative centre of Spain's South American domains and remained right up till the emancipation the centre of Spanish power. The new liberal ideas embodied in the French revolution took hold only very gradually and freedom from Spain was not, as in Chile, a spontaneous movement, but was something imposed from without¹¹. In both Peru and Chile the Roman Catholic church as a whole was opposed to independence from Spain. On the eve of emancipation approximately 50 % of the clergy and the large majority of the bishops were still Spanish-born¹². To make matters worse, on January 30, 1816 Pope Pius VII, and on September 24, 1824 Pope

⁸ Genaro Santos' information to the writer. A somewhat similar incident was reported from Trujillo also in 1964, and the writer experienced something comparable in Palcamayo in 1958.

⁹ Milnes, Op. Cit. p. 39.

¹⁰ John J. Considine, *New Horizons in Latin America*. N.Y. 1958. p. 196.

¹¹ Hubert Herring, *A History of Latin America*. N.Y. 1963. p. 539.

¹² William J. Coleman, *Latin American Catholicism. A study of the Chimbote Report*. N.Y. 1958. p. 13.

Leo XII issued bulls against the independence movement in Latin America¹³. The triumph of this movement, therefore, discredited the conservative section of the Roman Catholic church, and until the conservatives staged a come-back years later, the liberal clergy, some of whom had fought in the armies of liberation¹⁴, enjoyed days of great opportunity.

The liberator San Martín wanted to promulgate a decree authorizing liberty of worship, but he was unable to win the approval of the Peruvian congress¹⁵. Factions which had started quarrelling even before Peruvian independence had been finally won made him give up hope, and San Martín left Lima in September 1822. Bolívar, the other liberator who was also of liberal persuasion, made further attempts to introduce a stable government in Peru, but had to leave Lima in 1826, much to the relief of jealous nationalists, who resented Bolívar as an outsider, and the populace of Lima, who disliked the presence of his "foreign" Colombian troops¹⁶. After Bolívar's departure, almost continuous anarchy and conservative reaction went hand in hand, till 1845 when Ramón Castilla seized the presidency and, except for an interval of three years, held power till 1862. In 1860 Castilla promulgated a new constitution, the 15th in the nation's history, which concentrated powers in the hands of the president, sharply limited the franchise, and continued to recognize the Catholic church to the exclusion of all others¹⁷. Castilla was himself no liberal, but the relative stability which his tenure of office gave the country enabled liberal influence to revive again. As early as December 1845 permission was given to foreigners to conduct Protestant worship among themselves.

The twenty-three years up to 1885 which followed Castilla's departure from office, were times of almost constant tension and included the Pacific war (1879-1883). This was provoked by the discovery in the Atacama desert of rich mineral deposits to which Peru, Bolivia and Chile all laid some claim. Chile decisively defeated the other two, deprived Bolivia of Antofagasta and its outlet to the sea, took the provinces of Tarapacá and Arica permanently away from Peru (as well as Tacna till 1929), marched up the Peruvian coast and occupied Lima. This disaster for Peru provoked tremendous nationalistic feeling. Even to-day to call somebody a "chileno" in Peru is considered an insult. Nevertheless the painful experience may well have been a blessing in heavy disguise, for the Peruvian nation was shocked into realizing that it must modernize itself. Since then, in spite of, and even during

¹³ Juan C. Varetto, *Hostilidad del clero a la Independencia Americana*. 1922. pp. 123-143, quoted by Wenceslao O. Bahamonde, *The establishment of Evangelical Christianity in Peru*. Hartford Seminary Foundation. May 1952. pp. 13f.

¹⁴ Bahamonde, *Op. Cit.* p. 18.

¹⁵ *Idem.* pp. 17 & 21.

¹⁶ Herring, *Op. Cit.* p. 539.

¹⁷ *Idem.* p. 540.

repeated conservative reactions there has been slow but unmistakable progress towards a more democratic form of government, greater freedom of worship and a more just society.

From 1886 to 1890 Andrés Cáceres attempted reconstruction in Peru, and his tenure of office was accompanied by a new surge of liberalism. In 1890 he was ousted, however, and there were fresh flounderings till 1895. In spite of this, the supreme court gave a verdict in 1891 which established the legality of Protestant worship for Peruvians, provided that the meetings were of an entirely private nature. From 1895 to 1908 a succession of "civilista" (conservative and pro-Roman Catholic) presidents ensured a relative measure of peace in the country. The position of Protestant missions in this period was, however, very difficult. Nevertheless in December 1897 congress passed a law establishing civil marriage, but only for those who could prove that they were not Roman Catholics. This last clause gave rise to many difficulties and an attempted clarification in 1899 brought no relief. Finally in 1903 congress passed a law establishing the validity of civil marriage for all those who declared before the authorities that they had never been or were no longer members of the Roman Catholic church¹⁸.

Augusto B. Leguía was president from 1908 to 1912 and at first showed progressive tendencies. In 1915 congress amended the constitution so as to tolerate Protestant worship. Then in 1919 Leguía seized power and stayed on as dictator for eleven years. Helped by easy loans from United States' bankers, he did much to advance the economy, but his throttling of the press and wholesale jailing of critics provoked in the end a strong reaction. Already in 1920 he exiled Haya de la Torre, who at first had simply wanted to promote social justice, but who during his exile announced in 1924 from Mexico the formation of an international party, called the "Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana", usually known simply as Apra, whose programme was much wider and included nationalisation of land and industry and the unification of Latin America against North American economic imperialism. Outside of Peru, Haya never made very much impression, but inside Peru, Leguía's co-operation with North American financial interests, his defence of the interests of the big landowners and his support for the church, stimulated a liberal and nationalistic reaction which caused Apra's influence to grow by leaps and bounds. For the first time in Peru, this nationalistic reaction was not directed against another Latin American country but against the United States.

In 1929 Leguía signed a law which made it illegal to give Protestant instruction, even in those schools which were run and financed by Protestants. Before this law could take effect, the crash in Wall Street removed one of the main supports of Leguía's power and in 1930 Sanchez Cerro seized power and ousted him. The following year an

¹⁸ John Lee, *Religious Liberty in South America*. N.Y. 1907. p. 177.
Bahamonde, Op. Cit. p. 122.

election was held in which Sanchez Cerro set aside the solidly pro-Apra vote of the Cajamarca province on the grounds of an accusation of fraud, and was thus able to declare himself president. This led to appalling violence, and started a vendetta between the army and the Apristas which still continues to-day. In 1933 Sanchez Cerro was shot dead and after that Peru had a series of moderate presidents who were all on the defensive against the enormous influence of the Apra with the masses. Finally in 1945 Bustamante was elected president thanks to Aprista support. Unfortunately the Apristas misused their opportunity by forming what was in effect a government within a government, and by laying themselves open to the charges of totalitarianism and corruption they had hurled at others.

The result was once again a conservative reaction and in 1948 Manuel Odría seized power. Thanks to his able administration and his co-operation with North American financial interests he enabled the country to make solid economic progress, but the way he silenced his opponents and co-operated with the United States caused another upsurge of nationalism. In 1956 Odría surprised everybody by announcing his retirement and opening the way for a genuinely democratic election. Manuel Prado who had been president before (1939–1945), won the election thanks to Aprista support. Haya de la Torre was allowed to return from his second exile and in 1962 he won the presidential election by a small majority¹⁹. This was too much for the conservatives and above all for the army, which staged a power grab. The time was past, however, that the conservatives could flout the wishes of the majority for any length of time and in 1963 a new election established as president Belaunde, who is committed to a programme of thoroughgoing reform.

After 1915 and especially after 1930 the Protestants enjoyed a period of greater freedom. Open air meetings became possible and school work went unhindered. The Roman Catholic church claimed the cemeteries as their own and in the smaller towns in the Sierra burial of Protestants could sometimes lead to difficulties. In 1945, just before ending his first term as president, Prado signed a decree making it impossible for Protestants to worship except in their own buildings. This decree was beset with problems of interpretation and in some outlying provinces even gave rise to cases of persecution. However, it was repealed in 1963 and since then Protestants can hold open air meetings and be buried freely everywhere. Separation of church and state is not yet in sight, but religious tolerance in Peru is to-day greater than it has ever been, and the Second Vatican Council's noble declaration on religious liberty will surely help to establish there an equally open attitude as that which already exists in Chile.

¹⁹ J. Halcro Ferguson, *The Revolutions of Latin America*. Lon. 1963. p. 82.

d. The general background in Chile

The main dividing lines of Chile's surface area of 286,396 square miles (excluding Antarctica) do not run parallel with the coast as in Peru, but at right angles to it. To the north lies the rainless Atacama desert, without any irrigated valleys of any importance, but with very important deposits of nitrates and of copper ore. This part of Chile represents 33 % of its terrain, but contains only 6.5 % of its population which is here concentrated in the main towns of Arica, Iquique and Antofagasta and the mines of Chuquicamata. The next section of Chile, called the central section, runs from Coquimbo in the north to the Bío Bío river in the south and represents 18 % of Chile's terrain, but has 65 % of its population, and includes the big towns of Santiago, Valparaíso and Concepción. Between a low coastal range and the high spine of the Andes there are wide plains at an altitude of about 2,000 feet, which although they receive only light rainfall, can be well irrigated by the rivers coming down from the mountains. The southern section of Chile begins at the Bío Bío river. The part to the north of the island of Chiloe represents 12 % of the terrain and has 26 % of the population. This area has abundant rainfall and used to be covered by forests. Large parts have now been cleared and contain some of the best farming land in Chile. Temuco and Valdivia are the most important towns.

Further to the south stretching from Chiloe to Tierra del Fuego lies a rocky wasteland, representing 28 % of the terrain but containing only 1½ % of Chile's population. Still further to the south lies Tierra del Fuego with 7 % of Chile's terrain and 1 % of its population. This area was inhabited by savages, but colonization at the end of the last century introduced all kinds of new diseases and very few survive. The area is now famous for its sheep farms, run by hardy European settlers, many of them from Scotland. The latter two areas have, with the exception of Gardiner's ill-fated attempt to establish a mission in Tierra del Fuego, played no role of importance in the development of the Protestant churches in Peru, and attention can, therefore, be concentrated on those parts lying to the north of the island of Chiloe.

The Spaniards did not consider Chile to contain any great riches. Those who came, were mostly of Basque stock from Vizcaya, who found the temperate climate of Chile more to their liking²⁰. They all settled in the central plains. The Indian population was much less important than in Peru. Some were integrated into the Spanish culture, but the Araucanians withdrew south of the Bío Bío river and were never subdued either by the Spaniards or by the Chileans till after 1881. The intermingling of races in Chile produced a more energetic stock than in

²⁰ Webster Browning, John Ritchie and Kenneth Grubb, *The West Coast Republics of South America*. Lon. 1930. p. 18.

Peru²¹, and the looser Spanish administration in Chile also encouraged greater independence.

This greater independence coupled with the absence of the reaction of mestizos against Indians, allowed a liberal atmosphere to develop in Chile much more quickly than in Peru. As a result considerable European immigration to the empty but fertile south became possible after 1850. This immigration in turn further stimulated liberal reform and industrialization. These various developments have given each of Chile's three main regions a distinctive character. Northern Chile which up till the Pacific war belonged mostly to Peru and Bolivia, retains many of the Indian influences apparent in Peru. In fact northern Chile resembles parts of Peru both physically and culturally. Southern Chile contains the Araucanians, but they are not numerous and represent only about 2% of the Chilean population of 7,374,115 in 1960. Furthermore up to recent times they have kept themselves quite separate and so have not influenced the country as a whole. It is the European influence, especially that of the many German immigrants, which has moulded the south. Because of the industrialization and the accompanying urbanization in central Chile, people from both north and south have migrated there. In the centre, therefore, there is a confrontation of Indian and European influences in a culture which is basically Spanish.

e. Religion in Chile

The absence of the strong Indian influence means that the religious picture is simpler and more homogenous than in Peru. Basically Chilean Catholicism is Spanish, but Chile's isolation and the fact that it did not have to protect its trade routes against Protestant adventurers as was the case with Spain, coupled with the good-naturedness of the Chileans themselves, has meant that once freed from Spain's control, Chilean Catholicism has become much more tolerant than its Spanish counterpart. At the same time the absence of the inner confrontation with Indian religion has meant that Chilean Catholicism as a whole has been more progressive than its Peruvian counterpart.

Catholicism in northern Chile with its fiestas and dances resembles Peruvian Catholicism in many ways, but even here moderating influences are to be noted. While in Peru it is quite common for relatives to take a plate of the deceased's favourite dish and place it on the grave on All Souls' day, the writer could find no trace of such a practice in Iquique. Religious processions, even in northern Chile, do not have the deafening accompaniment of exploding fireworks that is the rule in Peru even in the very centre of Lima, nor the alcoholic debauchery that marks such occasions in the Sierra.

²¹ W. T. T. Millham, *Latin America. - Expanding Horizons*. Lon. 1951. p. 30.
Also Robert Cecil Moore, *Piety and poverty in Chile*. Nashville Tenn. 1946. p. 8.

In the south the Araucanians have never been really touched by the Roman Catholic church (nor for that matter by the Protestants) and continue to this day many of the old animistic practices of their forefathers. Because of their isolation the Araucanian Indians have not had any noticeable effect on the religion of the nation as a whole. In the south one notices rather the Protestant atmosphere brought by many of the immigrants. Catholicism in Chile is, therefore, purer than in Peru, but for the very reason that it is less a projection of the aspirations of the people, it also has less grip on them.

The reasons usually given for the weakness of Catholicism in Latin America are the difficult social and economic conditions, the inadequate level of education and above all the lack of priests²². All these conditions are more favourable in Chile than in Peru and for every ten thousand inhabitants there were in 1958 3.96 priests, whereas the corresponding figure for Peru is only just over 1.93²³. Nevertheless it is usual to consider Peru as the more Catholic country. Either the lack of priests and the difficult conditions are not a cause of weakness of Latin American Catholicism, or as the writer believes, the usual norms for measuring Catholic penetration are quite mistaken.

It is probably true that Roman Catholic church attendance in Peru is higher than that in Chile. According to one source about 12 % of the men in Peru attend Catholic services²⁴, whereas in Chile this figure probably represents the total attendance of men and women²⁵. The writer believes, however, that these bare statistics do not give a true representation of the reality. Peru's 620 parishes cover only one third of the country's surface area and include just over three-quarters of the total population, whereas Chile's 569 parishes cover over 80 % of the surface area and include over 96 % of the population²⁶. This means that the Roman Catholic church acknowledges most of Peru as still being mission territory and several of the priests admit openly that even within the parishes many of the Indians have not really been christianized. In Chile the mission territories are relatively unimportant and the measure of christianization is far greater, so that according to the standards established by the Second Vatican Council Chile is the more Catholic country of the two.

²² Considine, *Op. Cit.* pp. 215 f.

²³ A Statistical Study of Latin America. I no. 9. Presbyterian Church in U.S.A. N.Y. Nov. 1, 1961.

²⁴ Ivan Labelle & Adriana Estrada, *Latin America in maps, charts, tables; no. 2: religious data (Catholicism)*. Cuernavaca 1964. pp. 255-267.

²⁵ E. Pin, *Elementos para una sociología del catolicismo latinoamericano*. Bogotá 1963. p. 15.

²⁶ Francis Houtart, *The Latin-american Church and the Council*. Fribourg and Bogotá 1963. pp. 41ff. According to Houtart, outside of the mission territories, 51.7 % of the priests in Peru work in parishes whereas the corresponding figure for Chile is only 35.5 %. In Chile more of the priests are engaged in educational work, so that the population per parish priest is not so much higher in Peru as the overall figures given in the previous paragraph would suggest.

Finally, mention must be made of the increasing willingness of the church in Chile to accept reform. In 1875 the Congress abolished the church courts and gave the civil courts jurisdiction over priests – a measure which inspired the archbishop to excommunicate congressmen who voted for it. In 1883 civil marriage was legalized, whereupon the archbishop excommunicated the president, the members of his cabinet and all congressmen who had approved the measure²⁷. Nevertheless in 1925 the separation of church and state was consummated with less acrimony than had been expected thanks to the conciliatory spirit of Archbishop Crescente Errázuriz²⁸. Chile in fact is the only country in Latin America where separation of church and state has been achieved peaceably²⁹ and where progressive tendencies have permeated right into the hierarchy³⁰.

f. The historical background in Chile

In February 1817 after the initial victory against the Spanish forces at Chacabuco, Bernardo O' Higgins, second-in-command to San Martín, was chosen as supreme director in Chile at a meeting of the leading citizens in Santiago. He was, however, too far ahead of his time. In his desire to curb the political power of the Vatican over his country, he insisted upon the nation's right of patronage over ecclesiastical appointments. He also supported a move to diminish the privileges of the wealthy landowners. The opposition became too powerful for him and he was forced to resign in 1823. There followed a period of confusion in which two warring parties emerged: the conservatives and the liberals. In 1830 the conservatives defeated the liberals at the battle of Lircay. Chile was then ruled by conservative presidents till 1861. Under the presidency of Manuel Montt from 1851 to 1861 a liberal reaction began to set in. Although no liberal himself, he nevertheless sought to carry out some of the reforms O' Higgins had failed to implement. His dispute with the church over the patronage issue split his own party, and his denial of complete intellectual freedom to those who wanted to import new ideas from Europe, especially France, outraged the extreme liberals. Two strange alliances then emerged. The moderates of both parties formed a pro-Montt coalition, while the extremists of both parties joined forces under the name "nationalists"³¹. Nationalism in this case was a curious mixture of reactions against Vatican influence and French liberalism.

When the time came to nominate a successor, the liberals had become so strong that a conservative candidate was rejected and Montt was

²⁷ Herring, *Op. Cit.* p. 583.

²⁸ *Idem.* p. 592.

²⁹ Roland Bainton, *Mission in Latin America, Christian Century*. Jan. 18, 1961.

³⁰ José Miguez Bonino, *The Impact of the Vatican Council on Latin American Roman Catholicism*. World Council of Churches paper. June 11–12, 1964.

³¹ Herring, *Op. Cit.* p. 583.

obliged to agree to José Joaquín Pérez as successor, who as a moderate was acceptable to both parties. Until 1891 the liberals were mostly in control. In 1865 non-Catholics were granted freedom to worship as they pleased, but without public display ³². In this period of industrialization the liberals came to represent more and more the new capitalists, and when José Manuel Balmaceda, who was inducted as president in 1886, started to develop a social programme, he found a congressional majority of conservatives and liberals against him. A civil war resulted in which the congressional forces were victorious, and Balmaceda shot himself in 1891.

The fall of Balmaceda marked an end to the concentration of power in the hands of the president, and the beginning of a new period of parliamentary rule. Chile started to break away from personalism, which still has such an influence in most parts of Latin America, namely that people follow leaders rather than ideas, but the new experience of democracy proved to be a painful one. Conservatives and liberals who had up till now been divided on the church and other issues, joined forces in order to hinder the representatives of the under-privileged masses from entering parliament. The recognized political parties became splintered and there was widespread corruption. Also relations with the United States became strained. The initial cause of tension was the United States government's support for Balmaceda and this was followed by the "Baltimore" incident in which two North American sailors who had committed an outrage were shot dead in Valparaíso, whereupon the United States forced the Chilean government to pay compensation.

Chilean industry continued to prosper, especially during the First World War, thanks to the enormous demand for nitrates and copper, but the cost of living spiralled and wages lagged. Strikes broke out and there was even street rioting. In 1912 the socialist labour party was organized and in 1920 the communist party. In 1920 Arturo Alessandri was elected president on a platform of social reform. Congress blocked him, but he was able to establish a moderate income tax and a labour code. The falling prices for copper and nitrates added to his difficulties. But in spite of the fact that Alessandri was able to achieve only a fraction of what he intended, his first period of office does mark a step forward on the road to social legislation. Since then no Chilean politician has dared to appear indifferent to the condition of the masses.

In October 1925 a conservative reaction installed Carlos Ibañez del Campo as dictator. He was able and honest, but anti-democratic. Till 1931 he pursued the same policy as Leguía in Peru and created the appearance of prosperity with money loaned from the States. In 1931 the bubble burst and Ibañez had to flee, leaving the country in chaos. In 1932 Arturo Alessandri returned to office, but this time sided in-

³² Idem.

creasingly with the conservatives, although he served Chile well by rescuing its economy. Since then Chilean presidents have had to reckon with a rising demand for social reform. Although the lot of the workers has undoubtedly improved land distribution continues to be inequitable and Frei, elected president in 1964, has promised to introduce a programme of land reform.

g. Liberalism in Peru and Chile

As will be seen from the foregoing sketch, periods of liberal advance, both in Peru and Chile, were also times of relative internal political rest and were usually accompanied by an increase both of nationalistic feeling and of anti-clericalism. There were, however, many exceptions to these general tendencies, because as John Ritchie wrote soon after arriving in Peru: "the so-called liberal party of Peru is gathered around personalities rather than principles. It would be possible for a fanatical devotee of Romanism to be an ardent liberal"³³. This personalism makes it impossible to draw fully logical lines of division in Peruvian or Chilean societies. Because of some friendship a rabid nationalist might be conservative in politics or a strong anti-cleric might yet be a supporter of foreign ideas.

With that reservation in mind, it is still broadly true that liberal advance occurred when a government was in power that sought to promote internal rest by the maintenance of an authoritarian regime which was reinforced by help from outside the country as well as by an alliance with the Roman Catholic church. Liberalism, nationalism and anti-clericalism were three aspects of the reaction against such a government. The liberal upsurge directed itself against authoritarianism within the country, nationalism sought to stop the flow of help from outside and anti-clericalism was directed against the ecclesiastical ally. Such situations gave rise to strange alliances. Dictators used loans from democratic countries in order to maintain themselves against the liberal opposition in their own countries, anti-clerics allied themselves with the dispirited Protestants in order to fight the political aspirations of the Roman Catholic church, and the liberals even used the Protestants as a weapon to fight their conservative opponents. These alliances with the Protestants were never long-lived, however, because both parties soon came to see that they were striving towards quite different objectives.

Anti-clerics were determined to restrict the authority of the Roman Catholic church, especially in the political field, but they were often quite prepared to accept that church's authority in the private sphere. Because most of the Protestants who came to Peru and Chile believed that religion had nothing to do with politics the two groups found themselves in temporary agreement, but basically it was not a restriction of

³³ Geraldine Guinness, *Peru*. Lon. 1909. p. 103.

Roman Catholic authority that the Protestants wanted, but a total reformation of it. The liberals and the Protestants found themselves in agreement about the need of an educational programme and it is significant that the Protestants succeeded in establishing themselves in these two countries largely by means of their schools. But the liberals wanted education for its own sake while the Protestants viewed it in the last resort as a means towards the better understanding of God's will. Nowhere did this difference become clearer than around the Bible. Liberals and anti-clerics at first welcomed the introduction of the Bible as a source of enlightenment, but when it became clear that the Protestants wished to replace the authority of the Roman hierarchy with that of the Bible, a parting of ways inevitably followed.

CHAPTER II

EARLY PROTESTANT EFFORTS IN PERU AND CHILE

a. James Thomson's attempt to promote a spontaneous reformation in Spanish America

James Thomson was a Baptist pastor who went out to the Argentine in 1818 as a representative of the British and Foreign School Society. This society founded schools on the Lancasterian system by which pupils who had learned to read were used to teach others. Thomson's church in Edinburgh paid his fare out to Buenos Aires and supported him during his first year there¹, but after that Thomson became fully self-supporting. In addition to his school work Thomson was vitally interested in the work of the B.F.B.S.². He combined these two methods of approach by having the governments which sponsored his educational programme, print selected passages of Scripture in large type for use as reading materials in his schools. In addition wherever he went he engaged in the direct distribution of the Scriptures and in Peru arranged for the first translations of portions of Scripture into the Indian languages.

Thomson's work in the Argentine attracted the attention of O' Higgins in Chile, who as supreme director invited him for one year at the expense of the Chilean government. Thomson sailed round Cape Horn and arrived in Santiago near the middle of 1821. Whereas the Roman Catholic clergy in the Argentine had been favourably disposed towards his work, in Chile most of the Catholic priests opposed him³. Nevertheless within a year Thomson established three schools in Santiago, one of which was equipped to train teachers who could start new schools. He also founded schools in Valparaiso⁴, and on May 31, 1822 President O' Higgins honoured him by granting him Chilean citizenship⁵. The Chilean government then engaged the services of Anthony Eaton to continue the work⁶ and in response to a pressing invitation from San

¹ John Ritchie, Data collected by him and now in possession of the A.B.S. in N.Y.

² John A. Mackay, *The Other Spanish Christ*. Lon. 1932. p. 235.

³ Idem. p. 236.

⁴ Webster E. Browning, *The Romance of the founding of Evangelical Missions in South America*. (Manuscript in possession of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. at N.Y.) p. 79.

⁵ Ignacio Vergara, *El Protestantismo en Chile*. Stgo. 1962³. pp. 10f., quoted from Domingo Amunátegui Solar, *El sistema Lancaster en Chile y otros países sud-americanos*. Stgo. 1895. pp. 147f.

⁶ Vergara, Op. Cit. p. 10.

Martín in Lima, Thomson set sail from Valparaiso on June 18⁷. Within ten years, however, all traces of the promising work in Chile had disappeared⁸.

The day after Thomson's arrival in Lima he was visited by San Martín in person⁹, who immediately had the Dominican monastery of St. Thomas vacated for a school¹⁰. Conditions in Peru were considerably more difficult than in Chile; Lima was twice re-occupied by royalist forces; the treasury was empty; no reading materials could be printed, and finally not even Thomson's salary could be paid. Navarrete, a Roman Catholic priest who became Thomson's faithful helper, intervened and tried to arrange that the parents of the schoolchildren provide for Thomson's support, but the war of liberation which was still raging had reduced everybody to dire poverty. Lima was besieged and on September 5, 1824 Thomson choosing a favourable moment, slipped out and went to Ecuador and Columbia¹¹. Thomson's initial success in Peru had been smaller than in Chile. In two years and three months he established three schools; the central one in the monastery of St. Thomas with 200 pupils, a subsidiary one in another part of Lima with 80 pupils, and the third in Huánuco on the other side of the Andes¹².

Despite the unfavourable conditions, Thomson's work in Peru proved to be more lasting than anywhere else. In 1847 Navarrete wrote Thomson that since his departure thirty more schools had been founded¹³. This success was due in the first place to the devotion and perseverance of Navarrete himself whom Thomson described as "a very worthy priest, a lover of education and of the Bible"¹⁴, but other priests also helped, especially in the distribution of the Scriptures¹⁵. The schools ceased their separate existence when President Castilla reorganized the educational system in 1850¹⁶, but for nearly thirty years, at a time when education was the almost exclusive privilege of the rich, Thomson's initiative had provided Peru with the first schools to offer a general education for all classes¹⁷.

The willing reception afforded Thomson's help was due not only to

⁷ James Thomson, *Letters on the moral and religious state of South America*. Lon. 1827. p. 33.

⁸ A. Oyarzún, *Reminiscencias Históricas de la Obra Evangélica en Chile*. Valdivia 1921. p. 17.

⁹ Thomson, *Op. Cit.* pp. 34 f.

¹⁰ *Idem.* pp. 35 f. & 41.

¹¹ Ritchie, *Apuntes para la Historia del Movimiento Evangélico en el Peru durante el primer siglo de la República*. Manuscript in possession of the E.U.S.A. in Lon. s.a.; Thomson, *Op. Cit.* pp. 72, 149 & 158 f.

¹² Wenceslao O. Bahamonde, *The Establishment of Evangelical Christianity in Peru*. Hartford Seminary Foundation Thesis May 1952. p. 32; Ritchie, *Apuntes...*

¹³ *Evangelical Christendom* (Organ of the Evangelical Alliance), Lon. Sept. 1847. p. 288.

¹⁴ *Idem.*

¹⁵ Bahamonde, *Op. Cit.* pp. 19 & 23.

¹⁶ *Idem.* p. 33.

¹⁷ *Idem.* p. 23.

the need but also to the way in which this help was offered. Thomson later commented on the cordiality shown him as a foreigner and a Protestant¹⁸. His winsome character and ability for making friends undoubtedly played a large part in this, but also his policy of helping the South Americans to help themselves. Instead of making himself financially independent of the people he wanted to help by accepting support from outside, he put himself, financially speaking, entirely at their mercy, thus making it quite plain that they need have no fear that he was trying to impose something on them. All they had to do to dispose of his services, was to fail to find his support. Evangelical writers who blame the Protestant churches in Great Britain and North America for not having done more to help at this time¹⁹, do not appreciate sufficiently that open Protestant support for Thomson's efforts would have at once produced a reaction that would have ruined his further chances.

After his first year in the Argentine, as far as is known, Thomson neither asked for, nor received, support from Protestant sources. The Scriptures he distributed were sold at relatively realistic prices²⁰. They were identical to the Roman Catholic *Scío de San Miguel* version and included the Apocrypha with the Old Testament; the only difference apart from some printing errors was that the footnotes were omitted²¹. Thomson collaborated closely with Roman Catholic priests and later maintained that "a fair proportion of the priests in those parts may be considered moral and devout men"²². He made no attempt to form an Evangelical church nor to wean anybody away from Catholicism, and in spite of doctrinal differences, he felt himself one with those Catholics who truly believed in the Lord Jesus Christ²³. Although he used his educational work to introduce the Scriptures as it were by stealth²⁴, it is clear that he believed that the people in South America could accept the message of these Scriptures without ceasing to be Roman Catholics. Domingo Amunátegui's opinion that Thomson was the first Protestant proselitizer in South America to hide his real aim under the pose of an educator is, therefore, quite mistaken²⁵, although this judgment does apply to some of the later Protestant emissaries.

Basic to Thomson's work was his belief that the reading of the Scriptures, coupled with a programme of education to make such reading possible, would of itself stimulate an inner, spontaneous reformation of the existing church. Only right at the end of his life, when it was clear

¹⁸ *Evangelical Christendom*, Sept. 1847. p. 287.

¹⁹ Kenneth G. Grubb, *South America, the land of the future*. Lon. 1931. p. 20; W. T. T. Millham, *Heroes of the Cross in South America*. Lon. 1947. p. 15.

²⁰ Thomson, *Op. Cit.* pp. 124f.

²¹ *Idem.* p. 67; Bahamonde, *Op. Cit.* p. 29.

²² *Evangelical Christendom*, Lon. Aug. 1847. p. 251.

²³ Thomson, *Op. Cit.* p. 143; Bahamonde, *Op. Cit.* p. 24.

²⁴ Thomson, *Op. Cit.* p. 111.

²⁵ Vergara, *Op. Cit.* p. 11, quoting Domingo Amunátegui Solar, *El Sistema de Lancaster en Chile y en otros países sudamericanos*. Stgo. 1895. p. 35.

that the desired result was not being achieved did he appeal to the Protestant church for help in setting up a missionary society for South America. This was done in 1852, but Thomson's death two years later brought the plans to nought²⁶. It is, therefore, not true to attribute Thomson's failure in his primary purpose to the indifference of the Protestant churches. Nor can this failure be ascribed to the tumultuous state of these countries at the time. Otherwise how can it be explained that Scripture distribution prospered more in Peru than in either Chile or the Argentine, in spite of the difficult war conditions in Peru?²⁷ Papal opposition was decisive in ending the Bible society Thomson established in Colombia²⁸, and clerical opposition in Chile probably played some part in ending the educational work there, but in Peru the measure of success was very largely due to the support some priests gave. Roman Catholic opposition is, therefore, not a sufficient explanation of the failure to achieve an inner reformation of the church. Besides, when conditions are propitious, opposition cannot stop such a movement, once it has started, as the history of the Reformation in northern Europe shows.

The decisive reason must lie in the fact that those who could read, with very few exceptions, belonged to an exclusive social group. However much the elite might express admiration for the Bible, and even use its noble sentiments in their struggle with what they considered to be the uncivilized ignorance and superstition of the masses, they dared not apply the teachings of Scripture to their own position, for fear of being excluded from the tightly knit group to which they belonged. In Chile this general tendency was reinforced by the fact that there was a reaction among the educated against O' Higgins' encouragement of foreign innovations, of which the Bible was but one. In Peru the primary reaction of the educated was against the superstition of the Indians, but it is interesting that, even there, the people who were really prepared to help Thomson in Bible distribution belonged to the priesthood or were of foreign extraction, such as Lynch in Lima and O' Donovan in Trujillo²⁹. Of those who possessed enough education to read, such people were the least vulnerable as far as their social prestige was concerned.

The key to the situation lay, as Thomson rightly apprehended, in the promotion of education for the masses, so that those who had little to lose by acting on the message of the Scriptures might also be able to read them. In the conservative reaction which followed the emancipation from Spain, when landowners often saw in popular education a means of enabling the masses to rise up against them, such a programme became difficult enough to maintain in the best of circumstances. When such education was also coupled with an attempt at an inner religious

²⁶ *South America* (Organ of the E.U.S.A.), Lon. July/Sept. 1918. p. 22.

²⁷ *Evangelical Christendom*, Oct. 1847. p. 316.

²⁸ Mackay, Op. Cit. p. 237.

²⁹ Bahamonde, Op. Cit. p. 32.

reformation, it was doomed, either to die out, as in Chile, or to lose its impulse for religious reform, as in Peru. The importance of Thomson lies in the fact that he pioneered policies, which ninety years later under more favourable circumstances, were to bear fruit in two directions. In Peru the Seventh Day Adventists around Lake Titicaca later developed an educational programme that bore strong resemblances to the Lancasterian system, and in Chile Hoover, as leader of the indigenous Pentecostal movement, made himself entirely dependent on national support as Thomson had done before him.

b. Further attempts to promote an inner reformation in Peru and Chile

Towards the middle of the century, a Peruvian priest named Paula Gonzalez Vigil wrote a book entitled "Defence of the authority of the governments against the pretensions of the Roman Curia", in which he contended by appealing to the Scriptures that unfettered investigation was not only an inalienable human right, but also the secret of true progress³⁰. In addition he attacked the religious abuses of his time³¹. In 1851 Vigil was excommunicated, but surprisingly enough, he was then appointed librarian of the national library of Peru³², and several years later his writings helped to provoke an increase of liberal thought³³.

Later Father Vaughan, a Roman Catholic priest from England, visited South America and was so impressed by its spiritual need that he returned to England to collect money for the printing of 5000 copies of the New Testament in a Roman Catholic version. These he made available for sale in nearly all the major cities of South America. The demand was even greater than the supply, and William Taylor, the founder of Methodist missions on the west coast of South America, who met Vaughan in Callao in 1877, gained an excellent impression both of Father Vaughan himself and of his work³⁴. According to Taylor, Vaughan was on good terms with at least one bishop in Peru, and his Testaments were read with great interest. Popular education had by then made some advance and the reading public was somewhat wider than in Thomson's day. No real obstructions were put in Vaughan's way and yet his influence disappeared without apparently leaving a trace.

The common factor in the efforts, first of Thomson, then of Vigil and finally of Vaughan, was that they all sought to present the truths of Scripture to the Spanish American people in such a way that they could appreciate these truths for themselves, without any division within the Roman Catholic church, or the Spanish American society, either being

³⁰ Ritchie, *Apuntes*...

³¹ Bahamonde, *Op. Cit.* p. 49.

³² Mackay, *Op. Cit.* p. 165.

³³ Bahamonde, *Op. Cit.* p. 54.

³⁴ William Taylor, *Our South American cousins*. N.Y. 1880. p. 103.

called for, or even implied. The fact that all three efforts failed, shows that more was needed than a presentation of the truth, in order to provoke a society such as was then to be found in Peru or Chile to self-reformation.

c. Early colportage work in Peru and Chile

On July 25, 1823 Theophilus Parvin and John C. Brigham sailed from Boston to Buenos Aires with instructions from the American board of commissioners for foreign missions to explore the possibilities of Protestant missionary work in South America ³⁵. This fact-finding expedition was the first expression of a new development. Thomson's policy had been to help the Spanish Americans to help themselves, but now the idea was to provide help, whether it was asked for or not. Parvin stayed on in the Argentine, but Brigham left Buenos Aires alone in October 1824, passed through Chile and arrived in Lima in July 1825. There he found four boxes of Scriptures, three of which should have gone to Chile, and one which was sent to Thomson in Lima, but had arrived too late. Because of the poverty of the people after the war of liberation, but also because of the different purpose of his mission, Brigham broke with Thomson's policy of selling the Scriptures for realistic prices, and either sold the contents of three of the boxes for much reduced prices or actually gave them away ³⁶.

To the American Bible Society, Brigham recommended that in view of the poverty of the people, the sale of Scriptures be more heavily subsidized, and in South America this policy has, with modifications, been continued to this day. To the board of missions, however, Brigham advised that they await developments before undertaking any direct missionary activity. Brigham has been criticized for this advice, and Bahamonde says that "as a consequence the board lost its immediate interest in the evangelization of South America" ³⁷. Yet apart from a continuation of Thomson's policy it is difficult to see what else Brigham could have recommended at that time. Both in Peru and Chile non-Roman Catholic worship was prohibited by law, in Peru up to 1836 even on the pain of death ³⁸. Brigham also felt that if left to themselves, these countries would continue to develop along liberal lines as they had done since the emancipation, but by this he showed that he underestimated entirely the strength of the conservative reaction, which was now coming.

In 1826 the B.F.B.S. appointed Luke Matthews as agent for the west coast of South America. After visiting Chile and Bolivia, he arrived in

³⁵ Bahamonde, Op. Cit. pp. 44 f. quoted from the *Missionary Herald*, XXII 1826. p. 49.

³⁶ *Bible Society Record*, N.Y. 1826. p. 49.

³⁷ Bahamonde, Op. Cit. p. 47.

³⁸ Harlan P. Beach and others, *Protestant Missions in South America*. N.Y. 1907. p. 148.

Lima in 1928, but in contrast to the experience of Thomson and Brigham before him, found much less interest, and was reluctantly obliged to dispose of 400 dozen New Testaments at a low price to a merchant for re-sale in the vicinity of Lima and in the Trujillo area ³⁹. After Brigham had offered the Scriptures for sale at artificially low prices it is only natural that people later should be less interested in paying the proper price, but this was not the only reason. Under pressure from influential groups of supporters, the B.F.B.S. in 1825 finally decided to stop printing the Roman Catholic Scío version which included the Apocrypha, and distribute only the Protestant Valera version ⁴⁰. This version was a direct translation of the Hebrew and Greek texts and did not contain the Apocrypha. Its text was certainly superior to that of the Scío version, which was based on the Vulgate, but simple people in Latin America could hardly be expected to appreciate the finer points of a policy change imposed on them from outside the continent.

This change of policy immediately gave rise to charges about falsified Bibles, a charge which is still sometimes heard to-day. In 1842 the A.B.S. also changed from the Scío to the Valera version and eventually found that the Protestant version could be circulated without difficulty ⁴¹. Nevertheless the transition was difficult and considerably aggravated the problems which Matthews and his successors had to face. Coupled with the practice of selling the Scriptures at reduced prices this change of policy must also have given the impression that the Bible was some kind of propaganda being imposed from without. The attitude to col-porteurs, which had been extremely favourable in the time of Thomson, now also changed. Matthews went on to Colombia, where he disappeared in 1831. It is believed that he was murdered by the boatmen taking him up the river to visit the interior of the country ⁴². In November 1833 the A.B.S. sent out Isaac Watts Wheelwright to set up an agency in Valparaiso, but he found the field so sterile that his agency was terminated in 1837. In 1834 he visited Lima and found some priests there who wanted to organize their own Bible society. Possibly they wanted to continue publishing the Scío version. Wheelwright, aware no doubt of the measures being taken against the Roman Catholic Bible society that Thomson had set up in Colombia, dissuaded them from their purpose ⁴³. This incident marked an end to Thomson's enlightened policy of helping the South Americans to help themselves during the nineteenth century.

After Matthew's death in 1831, the B.F.B.S. was able to do little or nothing till 1857 when it appointed A. J. Duffield as agent for the west

³⁹ George Browne, *The History of the British & Foreign Bible Society from its institution in 1804 to the close of its Jubilee in 1854*. Lon. 1859. II p. 368.

⁴⁰ Browne, *Op. Cit.* I p. 98.

⁴¹ Bahamonde, *Op. Cit.* p. 57.

⁴² *Idem.* p. 38.

⁴³ Henry Otis Dwight, *The Centennial History of the American Bible Society*. N.Y. 1916. II p. 147f.

coast with headquarters in Cartagena, Colombia. In 1858 Duffield visited Ecuador, Peru and Chile, and found so much interest in Lima, that he transferred his headquarters there. In 1860, however, he was dismissed because of the restriction imposed on his work by political commotions and because of the unsatisfactory manner in which he rendered his accounts⁴⁴, and once again, as far as Peru was concerned there was a long gap in which the Bible societies did relatively little. Duffield's measure of success in Lima coincided with an upsurge of liberalism there at the end of Castilla's term of office. Both in this period and also later there was a relationship between the advances made by liberal feeling and the desire of the people to buy the Scriptures. The Bible was considered to be a source of enlightenment and was naturally in demand at such times, but it is also true that the majority of the people were only willing to buy the Scriptures at moments when to do so did not bring them out of step with public opinion.

d. Allen Gardiner's attempts to reach untouched areas

During a visit of H.M.S. *Dauntless* to Chile in 1822, Allen Gardiner, who was serving on board as a lieutenant, came into contact with some Araucanian Indians. Their need of help impressed itself indelibly on his mind and after the death of his first wife in 1834, he resigned his commission in the Royal Navy to devote the rest of his life to pioneer missionary work among unreached tribes. After initial attempts elsewhere, he returned to Chile in December 1838 and for two years tried to establish contact with the Araucanians in the area of the Bío Bío river⁴⁵. As a result of the treatment they had received they were deeply suspicious of all whites and refused Gardiner's repeated requests to be allowed to settle among them, learn their language, and so teach them about the true God. When Gardiner asked one chief whether it would make any difference if he first learned their language, he was told that he would then be looked on more as one of them and would probably be allowed to stay⁴⁶.

Gardiner then decided in 1841 to try further south around Osorno where the Indians would have less to fear from "mestizo" infiltration. A priest, however, poisoned the minds of the Indians against Gardiner to such an extent that he was unable to hire mules to take him to the tribes. Confronted by the fact that although the priests had been unable to establish real contact with the tribes themselves, they could nevertheless prevent others from doing so, Gardiner then decided in 1842 to try to reach the Indians right in the south in Patagonia. Here he found good openings, but on hearing that Chileans were about to establish a

⁴⁴ *Fifty-seventh Report of the B.F.B.S.*, Lon. 1861. p. 215.

⁴⁵ *Under the Foothills of the Andes*. S.A.M.S. Lon. 1960². p. 17.

⁴⁶ John W. Marsh and W. H. Stirling, *Commander Allen Gardiner R.N.* Lon. 1874³. p. 20.

station there, abandoned the enterprise. Next he found good opportunities among untouched tribes in Bolivia but a change of government spoiled his plans, and this led Gardiner to concentrate again on Patagonia.

Because no other society would take any interest in this remote and unpromising area, Gardiner in 1844 founded the Patagonian missionary society⁴⁷. The increasing Chilean influence on the mainland of Patagonia decided him to try to establish work on the extremely desolate islands to the south. Gardiner realized that for this he would need a fairly large schooner which could be used as a base, but the repeated failure of his endeavour had discouraged the supporters at home. He was able to obtain only two small open boats and in these, together with a small party, he set out for the inhospitable islands in 1850⁴⁸. The Indians pilfered the supplies from his open boats; new supplies which should have reached him from England failed to arrive, and in September 1851 the whole party died of starvation in what is now the Argentinian section of Patagonia.

This disaster finally brought home to the Christian public in England the fact that there were untouched tribes in South America just as much in need of missionary help as the tribes in Africa for which large sums were regularly being collected. In 1854 a schooner such as Allen Gardiner had wished to have, was launched and sailed to the Patagonian islands. On November 6, 1859 the missionary brethren were massacred by the natives during the act of public worship at Woollya⁴⁹, but in spite of every discouragement the work was faithfully prosecuted, and many savages were truly transformed by the power of the Gospel. Under the new name of the "South American Missionary Society" the work was extended to the tribes in the Argentine Chaco, to chaplaincy work among the English-speaking population in the main towns of South America, and to the Araucanian Indians whom Gardiner had tried in vain to reach. Thus although the Patagonian work came to an end when the tribes died out because of infectious diseases brought in from outside⁵⁰, the sacrifice of Gardiner and his gallant band eventually bore much fruit⁵¹.

As Gardiner faced death on that desolate shore, he wrote down the conclusions he had drawn from his attempts to reach the South American Indians. These papers were later found by his body and the contents have been given the widest publicity⁵². Gardiner was one of the first

⁴⁷ *Allen Gardiner, Pioneer Missionary to South America*. S.A.M.S. Publication Lon. s.a. p. 3.

⁴⁸ Frances Arnold-Foster, *Heralds of the Cross*. Lon. 1885. pp. 502f.

⁴⁹ Marsh and Stirling, *Op. Cit.* pp. 88f.

⁵⁰ E. E. Every, *The Anglican Church in South America*. Lon. 1915. pp. 106f.

⁵¹ S.A.M.S. *Report* 1925/6.

⁵² Marsh and Stirling's book has run to at least 12 editions and in 1959 an even fuller account has been published in Mexico under the title '*Ultimos documentos del capitán Allen Gardiner*'.

to understand the depths of suspicion the South American Indians harboured against all "mestizos", and he counselled all those who wished to do missionary work among them, not to go straight in and settle among them, but first to learn their language with the help of bilingual Indians always to be found on the borders of the Indian areas. Once the language had been sufficiently mastered, the missionary would through repeated visits of relatively short duration be able to win the confidence of the Indians and let them see for themselves the purpose of his mission. Only when their confidence had really been won, should he go and establish himself among them⁵³. The increasing integration of the Indians into the life of the nations to which they belonged, later made it possible for missionaries to settle freely among the Indians and Gardiner's advice was then usually forgotten. But Gardiner had realized that it was not only a matter of settling among the Indians, but above all of winning their confidence and that this could be done only through the Indians' own language. The first Protestant mission in Peru or Chile to accept this as a matter of basic policy was that of the Wycliffe Bible Translators, who entered Peru after 1943.

Gardiner's second principle relating to Indian work arose from his experience that although the "mestizos" and the Indians might be poles apart in their thinking and their sympathies, they lived in close proximity to each other and reacted one upon the other. He therefore counselled that any mission, even if its primary objective was to reach the Indians, should also do something for the Spanish-speaking population⁵⁴. Gardiner was realist enough to understand that at first two departments would be necessary, but he wanted them both to work under the auspices of the same committee and believed that the interaction between these two departments would be mutually helpful. He envisaged the Spanish-speaking department as being entirely self-supporting except for the travelling expenses of the missionaries and the salary of a liaison officer, but implied that the Indian department would be more dependent on mission funds⁵⁵. This advice went largely unheeded by the very mission Gardiner founded and in 1956 the secretary of the S.A.M.S. reported: "Knowing what we do, we wish our predecessors had not ignored the cities and the nationals of South America concentrating solely upon the Indian"⁵⁶. The reasons for this omission will be considered in the tenth chapter which is devoted to the work of Gardiner's successors among the Araucanian Indians.

⁵³ Marsh & Stirling, *Op. Cit.* Preface. pp. VII f.; *Ultimos documentos del capitán Gardiner*. Mexico 1959. pp. 104f.

⁵⁴ Marsh & Stirling, *Op. Cit.* Preface p. VIII; *Ultimos documentos*. p. 106.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PROTESTANTISM IN PERU

a. Anglican and Nonconformist Services among the foreign residents

On October 25, 1844 a meeting was held in the British legation in Lima to consider the possibility of establishing Protestant worship in the English language in Peru¹. The Peruvian government was approached and in December 1845 gave permission provided Peruvians did not attend, but the first chaplain, John G. Pearson, did not arrive in Lima till March 14, 1849². Services were first held in the British legation and then in 1852 were moved to rented premises in the Calle Negreiros and stayed there for 34 years³. To the consternation of the Protestant community in Lima, their fifth chaplain, Campbell McKinnon, went over to the Roman Catholic church on March 14, 1879. The Pacific war broke out shortly afterwards and six years passed before the vacancy could be filled⁴. A Presbyterian minister working at the time in Callao, the port of Lima, had this not very flattering comment to make about the Anglican congregation in Lima: "Their last preacher turned over to Rome amid great rejoicing among the priests. They try to hold together and have services read once on a Sunday, but the layman who reads it is at the head of the Sunday lawn tennis games, and hurries through the service to be on time at the tennis"⁵. On May 27, 1885 the chaplaincy was re-opened by Welby Colston and has been steadily filled since then. On Trinity Sunday 1886 the congregation moved to their own building on the Calle Pacae, which from the street had to look as if it were a private house⁶.

Thomas B. Wood, the first American Methodist missionary in Peru, wrote in 1902 that the Anglican rectorate in Lima "avowedly holds to total abstinence from evangelizing the masses as essential to its existence under the influences dominant in Peru"⁷. He used the word "avowedly"

¹ John Savage, The beginnings of Gospel work in Peru. Unpublished paper in possession of the E.U.S.A. Lon. s.a.

² John Ritchie, Apuntes para la Historia del Movimiento evangélico en el Peru, durante el primer siglo de la República. Unpublished document in possession of the E.U.S.A. Lon. s.a.

³ Wenceslao O. Bahamonde, The Establishment of Evangelical Christianity in Peru, 1822-1922. Thesis Hartford Seminary Foundation. May 1952. pp. 59f.

⁴ Historical notes gathered by H. Money and in his possession in Lima.

⁵ Letter written by J. M. Thompson from Callao to Dr. Ellinwood in N.Y., on Oct. 7, 1884. P.M. Vol. 33. no. 223, at the Inter Church Center, N.Y.

⁶ Savage, Op. Cit.

⁷ Harlan P. Beach and others, *Protestant Missions in South America*. N.Y. 1907. pp. 151 f.

because by the time he wrote, it had already been demonstrated that a congregation could maintain itself in Lima even if it did evangelize the Peruvians. The real reason for the Anglican church's general rule of abstinence from evangelism in Peru and Chile was partly that its interest was usually directed towards the English-speaking foreign population, and partly because of its belief that Protestant evangelism of the native inhabitants of these lands would necessarily involve proselytism. The result was that the Anglican church came to be isolated both from the Peruvian man in the street, and from those elements in the foreign population which had a real, evangelistic concern. Johannes Hebly rightly points out that proselytism and an introverted attitude go together⁸, but the example of the early history of the Anglican church in Peru shows that a desire to avoid proselytism can also lead to introversion. As will appear later, especially in the study of the later development of the Anglican church in Chile, the danger in this case lay in a wrong understanding of what is meant by proselytism.

With the establishment of a steamship line to England at the middle of the century and the enlargement of the port, many foreigners came to work in Callao. The Pacific Steam Navigation Company set up a workshop there, with about a hundred artisans, many of whom came from Scotland. At first there was no one to care for them spiritually, but in 1859 the American Seamen's Friend Society in New York sent a Methodist minister G. A. Swaney to Callao⁹. William Wheelwright, the founder of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, who passed through the port in 1860, heard him preach in an inferior hired house, and promised to send out a prefabricated wooden meeting hall¹⁰. Unfortunately Swaney left before the building could be completed. Then in 1864 the S.A.M.S. sent William Cathcart Murphy to Callao as consular chaplain. He started services in the building and had it extended so that a day school with 80 children, 20 of whom were Peruvians, could be started. As a result a few Peruvians started attending the English services and even asked for a Bible class for themselves¹¹.

Unhappily Murphy died on September 25, 1867 and his successors were not of the same calibre. A report from the Anglican church in Lima dated July 1874 says that the chaplaincy in Callao was not functioning because of the unsuitability of the incumbent¹². Added to this the building was held in trust by a committee of six elected annually by a majority of the subscribers and pewholders¹³. As many of the foreigners in Callao were of nonconformist persuasion, especially those coming

⁸ Johannes A. Hebly, *Het Proselitisme. Verkenning van een oecumenisch vraagstuk*. The Hague 1962. Thesis Utrecht University. pp. 13 & 18.

⁹ B.F.M.P. May 1886.

¹⁰ Goodsil Arms, *History of the William Taylor Self-supporting Missions in South America*. N.Y. 1921. pp. 21 f.

¹¹ Bahamonde, Op. Cit. pp. 62-66.

¹² Ritchie, Op. Cit.

¹³ William Taylor, *Our South American Cousins*. N.Y. 1880. p. 96.

from Scotland ¹⁴, this arrangement led to constant strife ¹⁵. Nor did this strife end when the S.A.M.S. was obliged by financial stringency to withdraw their chaplaincy in 1877 ¹⁶. Six weeks later William Taylor, together with his brother Archibald, arrived in Callao looking for openings to found a self-supporting mission. The nonconformist party had just won a majority in the annual elections and welcomed him warmly into the pulpit ¹⁷. William Taylor stayed two months, and believing that he would find better opportunities further south, left Callao in his brother's care ¹⁸. However, his brother's ministry was not successful and within a year Callao was once again abandoned ¹⁹.

David Trumbull visited Callao in 1882 and finding the place unoccupied ²⁰, appealed to the Presbyterian church with the result that J. M. Thompson was sent there in 1884. Meanwhile William Taylor had sent Baxter to fill the vacancy left by Archibald Taylor and he arrived in Callao just before Thompson ²¹. There seems to have been good co-operation between the two. Baxter started a school and preached to the seamen ²², while Thompson pastored the English-speaking congregation and started to hold services in Spanish. At about the same time one of the men in charge of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company's workshop, who was a member of the Plymouth Brethren, started separate meetings in the Petersens' house. The Petersens were Swedish Lutherans who came to Callao around the year 1858 ²³. Petersen was an employee of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company and helped to build the Darsena pier ²⁴. His wife was active in personal evangelism and in the distribution of the Scriptures even at the time of William Taylor's visit to Callao in 1877 ²⁵. Through the hospitality they so freely offered to Christian workers and the way they made their house available for meetings, they came to play a significant role in the start of Protestantism in Peru.

In particular the Petersens' house became a centre for those non-conformists who adhered to adult baptism and emphasized that conversion meant a complete break with the past. Separate Spanish meetings were also started here so that when a Chilean colporteur visited Callao at the end of 1885 he reported that there were two different Spanish

¹⁴ Ritchie, Op. Cit.

¹⁵ *The Record*, published by David Trumbull, Valpo. April 15, 1873.

¹⁶ Thomas S. Goslin, *Los Evangélicos en la América Latina*. Buenos Aires 1956. pp. 46 & 63.

¹⁷ Taylor, Op. Cit. p. 96.

¹⁸ Taylor, *The Story of my Life*. N.Y. 1895. p. 647.

¹⁹ Idem. p. 681. See also Thompson's letter to Ellinwood of Oct. 7, 1884. P.M. N.Y. Vol. 33. no. 223.

²⁰ K. S. Latourette, *The early Evangelical missionary movement in Latin America. Practical Anthropology*. 1958. p. 11.

²¹ *The Record*, Valpo. July 9, & Aug. 8, 1884.

²² Idem. Nov. 5, 1885.

²³ *Regions Beyond* (Organ of the East London Institute), Jan. 1898. p. 10.

²⁴ Juan de Dios Guerrero's information.

²⁵ Taylor, *Our South American Cousins*. p. 103.

meetings and that he had spoken at both of them²⁶. In 1886 Mrs. Petersen broke with her Lutheran tradition and was baptized as an adult²⁷. The English meetings in her house were held regularly, but the Spanish meetings soon died out or at the most were held sporadically. Meanwhile, some of the foreigners who had pledged to support Thompson moved away from Callao, and others failed to live up to their undertaking. As the Presbyterian board felt that the work among the foreign communities should be self-supporting²⁸, Thompson withdrew from Callao on August 7, 1866²⁹. A year later, because of ill health, Baxter also left Callao³⁰. Once more this vital port was virtually abandoned, and when Penzotti arrived in 1888 he had the impression that the Gospel had not even been preached in Spanish before³¹.

Why had so much effort produced so meagre a result? In Callao Protestantism had not kept itself aloof from ordinary Peruvian life as it had done in Lima, and no one seems to have had any qualms about proselytism. Furthermore the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the port provided a good opportunity for bridging the gulf between the Peruvian and the Anglo-Saxon worlds, as was clearly demonstrated during Murphy's all too brief ministry. The example of loose living given by some of the Protestant laymen in Callao, and the failures in health or character among the preachers will certainly have been hindrances, but the writings of William Taylor and John Ritchie show that they believed that a lack of unity was the real cause of failure. Apart from the division between those who wanted an Anglican or nonconformist type of service, there was the division amongst the Nonconformists themselves, between those who believed in infant baptism and saw the experience of conversion more as a re-orientation of the existing life, and those who believed in adult baptism and were convinced that conversion marked the start of a new life that had no relation to the old. These issues no doubt meant much to the foreigners involved, but the fact that they were so powerless to rise above them as to have to hold separate meetings, only confused the Peruvians, for whom these differences meant nothing at the time.

b. The establishment of Evangelical Christianity among the Peruvians

In July 1888 Francisco G. Penzotti, accompanied by his wife and children and together with a Uruguayan colporteur named J. B. Arancet arrived in Callao to establish a Bible Society agency there³². Penzotti was born in northern Italy in September 1851 and had emigrated with

²⁶ *The Record*, Valpo. Dec. 16, 1885.

²⁷ *El Cristiano*, Lima Dec. 1918.

²⁸ B.F.M.P. May 1886.

²⁹ *The Record*, Valpo. Aug. 26, 1886.

³⁰ Taylor, *The Story of my Life*. p. 681.

³¹ Francisco G. Penzotti, *Spiritual Victories in Latin America*, N.Y. 1916. p. 42.

³² *Idem*.

his parents to Uruguay as a boy of 13 years³³. There he heard the Gospel from a Methodist missionary and gave his life to Christ in 1876³⁴. After working as a pastor for the Waldensian church in Uruguay³⁵, he was taken on by the A.B.S. and in the years 1883 to 1886 made three colportage trips right across South America³⁶. Because of his unusual gifts the A.B.S. then entrusted to him the difficult task of establishing an agency in Peru, from which he was also to cover Ecuador, Bolivia and Chile³⁷. Penzotti had a most gracious personality, spoke Spanish fluently, had considerable training as a colporteur and was at the same time a gifted preacher with pastoral experience. Last but not least Penzotti had a devoted wife who was fully prepared to share the risks of the new enterprise.

As soon as Penzotti had installed his family, he set out with Arancet offering the Scriptures from door to door. He also started evangelistic meetings in his home and within three months attendance had risen to more than fifty so that a larger meeting place was urgently needed. Eventually use was obtained of a dilapidated warehouse which could accommodate 170 to 180 people³⁸. An important feature of Penzotti's work was that he at once started to train his converts in the work of evangelism, sending them out two by two on Sunday afternoons to evangelize the town³⁹. Towards the end of 1888 he sent Arancet together with José Illescas, a new convert, on a colportage trip to southern Peru⁴⁰. When news came back that they had been attacked by a stone-throwing mob in a small place near Mollendo⁴¹, Penzotti left the fledgling congregation at Callao in the care of the most experienced of the new converts and set out at once to help. The result was that he himself was arrested in Arequipa for offering Bibles for sale and that all three landed in jail⁴². After the president of the Republic had ordered their release⁴³, they went on to Iquique, working extra hard so as to make up for lost time⁴⁴. At the end of his first year in Peru, Penzotti had trained six of his converts as colporteurs⁴⁵ and in the year 1889 110 places in Peru were visited and the astonishing total of 7000 Bibles or portions had been sold⁴⁶.

³³ Idem. pp. 5 & 7.

³⁴ Ritchie, Op. Cit.

³⁵ W. T. T. Millham, *Heroes of the Cross in South America*. Lon. 1947. p. 40.

³⁶ Beach and others, Op. Cit. p. 150.

³⁷ Bahamonde, Op. Cit. p. 94.

³⁸ Penzotti, Op. Cit. pp. 43 f.

³⁹ Luis D. Salem, *Francisco G. Penzotti*. Mexico 1963. p. 37.

⁴⁰ *Seventy-third Report*, A.B.S. N.Y. 1889. pp. 92 and 100.

⁴¹ *Evangelical Christendom*, Lon. July 1894. pp. 214 f.

⁴² *Seventy-Fourth Report*, A.B.S. N.Y. 1890. p. 105; *Bible Society Record*, A.B.S. N.Y. April 1889. p. 53 (Penzotti in his book p. 46 states that he set out for Arequipa in Jan. 1890 but the A.B.S. records make it plain that this should have been Jan. 1889).

⁴³ Bahamonde, Op. Cit. p. 103.

⁴⁴ *Bible Society Record*, A.B.S. N.Y. May 1889. p. 72.

⁴⁵ Penzotti, Op. Cit. p. 44.

⁴⁶ *Seventy-fourth Report*, A.B.S. N.Y. 1890. p. 106.

Upon his return to Callao, Penzotti continued to build up the congregation there. At first the priests took little notice of Penzotti's activities ⁴⁷, believing no doubt that this effort would soon peter out like the previous ones. When it became clear that this was a development of a different order, fiery sermons were preached from the pulpits and a petition was presented to the town authorities, calling for the closure of the Protestant meeting place and for Penzotti's banishment. The prefect of Callao then attended one of the meetings and was so favourably impressed ⁴⁸ that, on condition that Penzotti kept within the law by admitting people to the meetings only by ticket as if to a private conference, and that the doors of the chapel were closed during the services, permission was given to proceed ⁴⁹. Early in 1890 Charles Drees, superintendent of the M.E. mission in the river Plate area, visited Callao and organized the congregation into an official Methodist church with 31 members in full communion and 95 probationers ⁵⁰.

Unfortunately the opposition became steadily more violent. Attempts were made to intimidate those who went to the services and during one of the services a priest called Vidal y Urías slipped a padlock on the outside of the closed door. As there was no other way out of the building the position would have been serious, had not one of the members arrived far too late for the service with a key in his pocket that happened to fit the padlock ⁵¹. Finally another priest accused Penzotti of violating article IV of the Peruvian constitution that "the nation professes the Apostolic Roman Catholic religion. The state protects it and does not permit the public exercise of any other" ⁵². On the basis of this accusation Penzotti was arrested on July 25, 1890 ⁵³ and on the following day thrown into the filthy, half-underground dungeon, that had served as a gunpowder deposit in the time of the Spaniards, but was then being used as a prison for criminals ⁵⁴.

Penzotti's family was jeered at in the streets and it was felt safer to send the two elder daughters to Santiago ⁵⁵, but Penzotti's wife refused to be intimidated and sent food every day to her husband in prison, even when she had almost nothing in house. The prison food was so bad that if she had not done this, he might well have died ⁵⁶. She also appealed to the Consul and was told that something might be done if

⁴⁷ Webster E. Browning, *The Romance of the Founding of Evangelical Missions in South America*. Buenos Aires 1933. Manuscript at the Presbyterian Library, Inter church Center, N.Y. p. 121.

⁴⁸ *Seventy-fourth Report*, A.B.S. N.Y. p. 105.

⁴⁹ Browning, *Op. Cit.* p. 121.

⁵⁰ Bahamonde, *Op. Cit.* p. 99.

⁵¹ Penzotti, *Op. Cit.* p. 45.

⁵² John Lee, *Religious Liberty in South America*. N.Y. 1907. p. 14.

⁵³ *Bible Society Record*, A.B.S. N.Y. Nov. 20, 1890. p. 161. The formal accusation and imprisonment took place on the following day. *Idem.* p. 162.

⁵⁴ Penzotti, *Op. Cit.* pp. 47 f.

⁵⁵ Margarete Daniels, *Makers of South America*. N.Y. 1916. p. 218.

⁵⁶ Penzotti, *Op. Cit.* p. 51.

Penzotti agreed to leave the country at once⁵⁷. This neither Penzotti nor his wife were willing to do, because it would have been a tacit admission of the illegality of any form of Protestant worship in Peru⁵⁸. The authorities must have hoped that continued suffering would help him to change his mind, because by October 15, his case had not even come up for trial⁵⁹. By this time Penzotti's plight had started to arouse liberal feeling in Peru. Distinguished citizens from Lima came to have the Bible explained to them by the prisoner, and the mayor of Callao assured him that he was gaining more for his cause by his imprisonment than by ten years work outside⁶⁰.

Finally the matter came up in a local court and Penzotti was acquitted chiefly on the evidence of the padlock. The fact that it was possible to slip such a lock on the outside of the door during a service without anybody noticing was taken as proof that the door had been properly shut and that the meetings were not public⁶¹. The accusers then appealed to a higher court and when Penzotti was again acquitted they appealed to the supreme court. Meanwhile Penzotti became increasingly emaciated and the whole affair became a public scandal. The liberals saw in this a wonderful opportunity to hit at their political opponents and 2000 anti-clerics held a rally in Lima to petition for religious liberty⁶². The supreme court tried to put off the thorny issue by going into recess, but an article in a daily paper in New York⁶³ created so much unfavourable publicity that the supreme court was recalled and pronounced Penzotti innocent. On March 28, on the day before Easter Sunday, Penzotti was released after eight months in prison and brought to his home by his friends in jubilant procession⁶⁴.

The extraordinary thing is that during all this time the congregation which Penzotti had founded was left relatively unmolested. Terrible threats were made against them and there was a feeble effort at violence when the priest Vidal y Urías took children with him to attack the Protestant service, but he was himself imprisoned by the authorities for one day⁶⁵. Nevertheless Noriega, Penzotti's first convert, and Illescas, who was imprisoned with him in Arequipa, carried on the preaching and not a service was missed⁶⁶, nor was the work of colportage abandoned⁶⁷. Arancet the Uruguayan had to stop work and it is clear that those who opposed the Protestant work made a significant distinction between the foreign workers and the native converts, no doubt

⁵⁷ Idem. p. 49; Margarete Daniels, Op. Cit. p. 216.

⁵⁸ Savage, Op. Cit.

⁵⁹ *Bible Society Record*, A.B.S. N.Y. Nov. 20, 1890. p. 161.

⁶⁰ Margarete Daniels, Op. Cit. p. 216.

⁶¹ Ritchie, Op. Cit.

⁶² Margarete Daniels, Op. Cit. p. 218.

⁶³ Bahamonde, Op. Cit. p. 109.

⁶⁴ Penzotti, Op. Cit. p. 52.

⁶⁵ *El Heraldo Evangélico*, Stgo. 12 de febrero 1891.

⁶⁶ Margarete Daniels, Op. Cit. pp. 216f.

⁶⁷ *Bible Society Record*, A.B.S. N.Y. Nov. 20, 1890. p. 161.

in the expectation that once the foreigners had been disposed of, the Peruvians would soon fall into line. If this was the hope of the opponents of Protestantism then they misjudged the situation because, as David Vila wrote later: "these Peruvian Christians . . . continued to meet and prepared themselves to face death if necessary"⁶⁸.

Penzotti's greatest achievement is that through his preaching, but even more through his patience in suffering, he had brought his small band of Peruvians to commit themselves to Jesus Christ in a way that none of the previous attempts at planting Protestantism on Peruvian soil succeeded in doing. In Murphy's day Peruvians tended to think of the Gospel as some sort of formula for national advancement⁶⁹. They were interested so long such interest did not prove to be politically embarrassing. Later, during the dissensions in Callao, the Gospel must have appeared to them as something foreign and unrelated to their situation; but with Penzotti, they came to understand it as a denial of self and as a giving of themselves to Christ as Lord. Further, Penzotti had proved that private meetings did not contravene article IV of the constitution. Only once more was an Evangelical worker imprisoned on the basis of this article and he was soon released. Without this clarification Protestant evangelism outside a cosmopolitan centre such as Callao would have been virtually impossible. Finally, Penzotti created an atmosphere which was favourable to the dissemination of the Gospel. People were indignant at the way he had been treated and ready to listen to his message. In 1892 18,000 more Bibles were sold than in 1891⁷⁰.

How is Penzotti's success to be explained? Bahamonde gives as reason that Penzotti was the first to have the backing of a properly organized mission, but the writer cannot agree with this. Other workers represented powerful organizations such as the Anglican or Presbyterian churches and some workers stayed in Peru longer than Penzotti and yet none before him even came near to forming a church which would stand on its own feet. Penzotti's gifts do not afford a sufficient explanation either. Men like James Thomson, Murphy and Swaney also possessed considerable capabilities. Penzotti probably emphasized the need for a personal commitment to Jesus Christ more than many of his predecessors but at the most this was a difference of emphasis. Political liberalism had been making slow but steady progress in Peru, especially since the debacle of the Pacific war, and this was undoubtedly a factor of importance in Penzotti's triumph, but it must be remembered that this factor had equally favoured the attempts made by Thompson and Baxter. No doubt there were many contributory factors, but the vital difference between Penzotti and all but one of his predecessors, was that Penzotti

⁶⁸ David Vila, *Missionary Monthly*. March 1963. p. 78.

⁶⁹ Bahamonde, *Op. Cit.* p. 66.

⁷⁰ Marguerite Daniels, *Op. Cit.* pp. 218f.

almost immediately entrusted the preaching of the Gospel to the Peruvians themselves, thus giving them the opportunity to learn for themselves the true meaning of the Gospel in the period shortly after their conversion, while their ideas were still pliable.

James Thomson had done basically the same, but he had not been willing to risk an ecclesiastical division from the Roman Catholic church. This leads to the conclusion that in a situation where the people have largely identified religion with their own aspirations, as was the case in Peru at that time, division is the price of progress. It must not be thought that Penzotti created a division in Peruvian society which did not in fact already exist. He acted rather as the catalyst in a process by which the latent opposition to religious authoritarianism was brought out into the open. As a result people became willing to consider new alternatives, which would never have been the case so long as the appearance of the old unity was maintained. Penzotti did what nobody before him had done; he combined a willingness to disregard a unity, which was no longer a unity, with a heavy emphasis on voluntary ministry. In the early years the attention of the members of the new church was fixed on the world outside, and by getting them to devote themselves in service to this world outside in the name of their Saviour, Penzotti put what John Mackay has termed the "terrific self-assertiveness of the Iberian soul"⁷¹ to Christian use, while at the same time pointing the way to a unity which would replace the fake unity that he chose to disregard.

c. The division of the Spanish-speaking work in Peru

Penzotti maintained good relations with the group in the Petersens' house⁷², and during his time in Peru no separate Spanish meetings seem to have been held there. But Penzotti had been weakened in health by the rigours of his imprisonment and it was felt that he needed a change as well as a complete rest. Already the year before, possibly during the visit of superintendent Drees to Peru⁷³, it had been arranged that Thomas B. Wood, M.E. missionary in the river Plate area, be transferred to Peru in order to follow up Penzotti's work⁷⁴. Wood arrived in Peru together with his family in July 1891⁷⁵, and shortly afterwards Penzotti left for the Argentine⁷⁶, later to serve as agent of the A.B.S. in Central America⁷⁷.

⁷¹ John Mackay, *That Other America*. N.Y. 1935. p. 21.

⁷² *El Cristiano*, Lima diciembre 1918.

⁷³ Browning, *Op. Cit.* p. 123.

⁷⁴ According to Savage (*Op. Cit.*) Wood asked to be transferred to Peru, but Bahamonde writes (*Op. Cit.* pp. 111 ff.) that the Methodist board of missions asked Wood to go to Peru. It is possible that both are right.

⁷⁵ Browning, *Op. Cit.* p. 123.

⁷⁶ Penzotti, *Op. Cit.* p. 53.

⁷⁷ *Idem.* p. 54.

Wood established himself in Lima, and aided by Noriega started meetings in the first half of January 1892⁷⁸. As a volunteer agent of the A.B.S., he maintained the distribution of the Scriptures through a Bible deposit in Callao, with the help of Adolfo T. Vasquez, one of Penzotti's converts⁷⁹. Later Wood started a Bible institute for the training of ministerial candidates, but his absorbing concern was the establishment of Christian schools. Already on September 15 his daughter Elsie, who was a trained teacher, had opened the first school in Callao, and by 1895 five schools were functioning in that port⁸⁰. Later Wood wrote of the schools in Peru that: "No other form of effort approaches it in effectiveness for stopping the mouth of enemies, breaking down prejudices and gaining popular sympathy. The Bible opens more doors but the school work opens more hearts than anything else in that field"⁸¹.

Peru urgently needed more schools and Wood's educational programme provided solid help for the nation. The liberals keenly appreciated this, and Wood was right in contending that school work has done more in Peru to break down prejudices against Protestant missionary work than anything else. But sympathy for Evangelical missionary work is not by any means the same thing as the opening of the heart to the Gospel of Christ. Beyond a shadow of doubt Wood realized this and yet practice was to prove stronger than doctrine. The emphasis in his work was sufficiently different from that of Penzotti's approach, not only to affect the practice, but in the end to pave the way for a change in doctrine. Whereas Penzotti looked on the church primarily as an instrument for evangelization, already in Wood's time there were those who regarded it as an institution that needed extending, and while Penzotti related conversion primarily to the will, Wood believed that it was also related to the education of the mind.

On June 17, 1893 another man arrived in Peru, whose influence on the further development of the work was destined to be as lasting as Wood's. Charles H. Bright and his wife belonged originally to the open Plymouth Brethren in England⁸². Their assembly had split and Bright later wrote: "I sympathized with the unsectarian and weaker party. I was virtually forced out"⁸³. He moved to the United States and went from there to Mexico. After seven years of missionary service in Mexico and Venezuela, the C.M.A. paid his passage to Peru and gave him some money to continue publishing his gospel leaflet "La antigua fe" (the original faith). When he arrived in Peru the C.M.A. asked him to accept

⁷⁸ *El Heraldo Evangélico*, Stgo. 23 de junio 1892.

⁷⁹ Bahamonde, Op. Cit. p. 123; *80th Report A.B.S.* N.Y. 1896. p. 113.

⁸⁰ Bahamonde, Op. Cit. p. 118.

⁸¹ Beach and others, Op. Cit. p. 152.

⁸² Browning, Ritchie and Kenneth Grubb, *The West Coast Republics of South America*. Lon. 1930. p. 81.

⁸³ Charles H. Bright, Notes written by him and now in Herbert Money's possession in Lima.

a salary from them, warning him that he would otherwise be dropped from their list. Bright's response was characteristic: "I chose to fall into the hands of the Lord".

In July 1893 Bright travelled up the coast to Trujillo and met an Englishman who informed him of the Brethren meeting in the Petersens' house. Bright joined the group and soon started Spanish meetings there again. When Bright arrived in Peru, Wood was away in the United States finding more teachers for his schools⁸⁴. Penzotti, who had been ordained a minister of the M.E. church in New York in June 1893, returned temporarily to Peru in the second half of 1893⁸⁵. He met Bright, but it is clear that Bright did not heed his advice. Bright wrote later "I never had sought out Dr. Wood nor asked his help in the slightest particular (although Penzotti had pressed me to do so) for I had been pretty well acquainted with Methodist mission ways in Mexico and had come to the conclusion that if I wanted to see a work done by the Holy Spirit, it was necessary to keep absolutely aloof from any such workers"⁸⁶. In his reaction against the institutionalism of the churches Bright went to the other extreme of believing that the Holy Spirit could not possibly work through any organization or institution. Such being the case, the disagreement between Wood and himself was inevitable. John Ritchie later wrote that they were entirely different types of people and that they represented two quite different schools of thought and doctrine⁸⁷.

The resulting division was nonetheless tragic. In the first place it had so little to do with Peru. The split was the result of experiences undergone in a far off country, and the issue at stake probably meant nothing to the Peruvians at the time. In the second place the division had so little to do with the Gospel. It is sad that one so well versed in the New Testament as Bright, should have failed to see that the issue did not lie between spirituality and organization, but between the Holy Spirit and a carnal spirit and that these last two could be manifested in personal as well as organizational relationships. In the third place this division has not been healed to this day, to the detriment not only of the two parties concerned, but above all of the people whom they set out to help.

⁸⁴ *Regions Beyond*, Lon. April 1894. p. 163; Browning. Op Cit. p. 123.

⁸⁵ *Regions Beyond*, Lon. April 1894. p. 164; Penzotti, Op. Cit. p. 54.

⁸⁶ Bright, Letter sent from Santa Cruz California on Aug. 15, 1912 to Ritchie in Lima.

⁸⁷ Ritchie, *Apuntes históricos del movimiento evangélico en el Peru durante el primer siglo de la República*. Paper in possession of the E.U.S.A. Lon.

CHAPTER IV

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PROTESTANTISM IN CHILE

a. Anglican and Lutheran services among the foreign residents

Laymen started holding Anglican services in private houses in Valparaíso in 1825¹. In those days the British squadron in the Pacific was stationed there², and the port had quite a sizeable British colony. John Rowlandson, the first chaplain, came to Valparaíso in 1837 as a private tutor³ and started services in his own house. Attendance was good and so a meeting hall was built on to a private residence, and the services held there as from October 31, 1838⁴. No objection was made by the authorities so long as only foreigners attended, but when some Chilean ladies married to Englishmen asked if they could attend too, permission was refused⁵. Towards the end of Montt's presidency, with the liberal influence gaining ground, it became possible to buy a larger site which included the old meeting hall, and erect St. Paul's church. Two hundred Valparaíso citizens petitioned the authorities to have it destroyed⁶, but to no effect, and the building was completed in 1858 and has been in use ever since.

In 1860, Allen W. Gardiner, son of the well-known Allen Gardiner already referred to, arrived in Chile with the intention of reaching the Araucanian Indians. These had seized the opportunity given by the absence of the Chilean army due to the Pacific war, to plunder the white settlements, and work among them was impossible. Gardiner Jr. was induced to accept a chaplaincy in Lota for a small English colony connected with a coal mine there, hoping later to be able to reach the Araucanians, but the war of pacification which followed, again made this impossible. The example of Gardiner's chaplaincy encouraged the S.A.M.S. to establish chaplaincies in several other towns including Callao as has already been stated⁷. However, in 1875 the British government started abolishing all its consular chaplaincies. This meant

¹ *The Record*, Published by David Trumbull. Valpo. Dec. 21, 1877.

² E. E. Every, *The Anglican Church in South America*. Lon. 1915. p. 86.

³ *The Record*, Valpo. Dec. 17, 1884.

⁴ C. H. Hodgson, *Sketch of the Anglican Chaplaincy. Valparaíso, Chile*. Valpo. 1917. p. 9.

⁵ *The Record*, Valpo. Dec. 21, 1877.

⁶ Reginald Wheeler, *Modern Missions in Chile and Brazil*. Philadelphia 1926. pp. 122 f.

⁷ John W. Marsh and W. H. Stirling, *Commander Allen Gardiner R. N.* Lon. 1874³. pp. 165 and 170.

that in future all chaplaincies had to be supported from private sources⁸. The resulting financial stringency obliged the S.A.M.S. to withdraw nearly all its chaplains, although later other chaplaincies such as that at Iquique could again be started⁹.

Anglican work among the foreign population in Chile helped to break down prejudice among the Chileans and gave an example to other Protestants, but did not lead to work among the native population, not even in the S.A.M.S. chaplaincies where the aim was more evangelistic. The fact that the English language was used in the services was one great barrier. Another was the comparative isolation of the English colonies from Chilean life. Also there was in some cases too great a preoccupation with matters that loomed large in the church in England, but were of only very slight interest to the Chileans. For instance a meeting of clergy in 1925 in Valparaiso discussed the question of vestments and the use of an organ. The 1928 synod, also in Valparaiso, tried to decide among other things whether it was necessary to fast before partaking of the holy communion, and of course there was the matter of prayer book revision¹⁰.

With the start of German immigration into southern Chile in 1846 a Lutheran church also became established in Chile. It is estimated that these churches now have a membership of around 25,000¹¹. Until very recently services have all been in German and practically no evangelization of the Chileans has been attempted. The position of these churches is, therefore, similar to that of the Anglican churches.

b. The establishment of nonconformity in Chile

In 1884 some English and North American residents in Valparaiso appealed to the Foreign Evangelical Society in New York for a minister to preach in English and also to carry the Gospel to the Chileans¹². David Trumbull, a Congregational minister, son of the governor of Connecticut, who had graduated from Yale with high honours and then completed his theological studies at Princeton Seminary, responded to the appeal¹³. He was sent out by the Foreign Evangelical Society and the Seamen's Friend Society in co-operation, on the understanding that he dedicated part of his time to the sailors¹⁴. Trumbull arrived in Valparaiso on Christmas day 1845, and at once established friendly relations with the Anglican chaplain¹⁵. Officials soon came to appre-

⁸ Thomas S. Goslin, *Los Evangélicos en la América Latina*. Buenos Aires 1956. p. 46.

⁹ Every, Op. Cit. p. 94.

¹⁰ Archive found by the writer in the vestry of St. Paul's church. Valpo.

¹¹ Ignacio Vergara, *El Protestantismo en Chile*. Stgo. 1962³. p. 32.

¹² Wheeler, Op. Cit. p. 121.

¹³ W. T. T. Millham, *Heroes of the Cross in South America*. Lon. 1947. pp. 27f.

¹⁴ Wheeler, Op. Cit. p. 122.

¹⁵ Webster E. Browning, *The Romance of the Founding of Evangelical Missions in South America*. Manuscript in possession of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. p. 86.

ciate his neighbourliness and goodwill and gave him freedom to do his work provided he restricted himself to the crews of the ships anchored in the bay and those on shore who did not speak Spanish ¹⁶.

In 1846 Trumbull held some meetings in a private house for a group of nonconformists who called themselves the Free Chapel ¹⁷, and in 1847 he organized this group into a Union church with 15 members ¹⁸. The change of name was surely significant, because the striving for unity was a basic characteristic of all that Trumbull did. Later he welcomed the starting of a branch of the Evangelical Alliance in Chile ¹⁹. After the first meeting in what was little better than a cellar ²⁰, the meetings were held for over six years in a rented warehouse ²¹. In 1854 the congregation was able to buy a piece of land and start building. The municipality acting on a petition from the Archbishop of Santiago tried for six months to block progress on the building, but in the end they agreed that the church could be used provided that its gothic facade be hidden from the street by a high wooden fence, and that the hymns be sung very softly so as to be inaudible to passers-by ²². The church was completed in 1855 and dedicated in April 1856.

Trumbull was a dynamo of activity, and a list of all the things he undertook is bewildering. After his marriage, he and his wife supported themselves by running a school for girls. When at the request of the Union church he gave this up to devote himself entirely to pastoral duties, they took in boarders so as to supplement their small stipend and be able to educate their children in the United States ²³. Although to his death he remained pastor of the Union church in Valparaíso, he helped to start English services in Coquimbo ²⁴, and in 1861 started holding services in the railway station at Santiago. As a result the English-speaking community there appealed to the Foreign Evangelical Society for a pastor of their own ²⁵. Nathaniel P. Gilbert, another Congregational minister, answered this appeal and organized a Union church in Santiago in 1862 ²⁶ for all the English-speaking residents there.

To his death Trumbull retained his connection with the Congregational church ²⁷ and yet he was ever ready to give priority to interdenominational co-operation. When the American and Foreign Christian Union, as the Foreign Evangelical Society was later called, ran into financial difficulties as a result of increasing denominational tendencies

¹⁶ Margarette Daniels, *Makers of South America*. N.Y. 1916. pp. 190f.

¹⁷ *The Record*, Valpo. Dec. 21, 1877.

¹⁸ Millham, *Op. Cit.* p. 28.

¹⁹ *The Record*, Valpo. July 22, 1882.

²⁰ Wheeler, *Op. Cit.* p. 123.

²¹ Arturo Oyarzún, *Reminiscencias históricas de la obra evangélica en Chile*. Valdivia 1921. p. 19.

²² James H. McLean, *Historia de la Iglesia Presbiteriana en Chile*. 1932. p. 17.

²³ Margarette Daniels, *Op. Cit.* p. 197.

²⁴ James McLean, *Op. Cit.* p. 18.

²⁵ *The Record*, Valpo. Mar. 22, 1884.

²⁶ James McLean, *Op. Cit.* p. 33.

²⁷ Browning, *Op. Cit.* p. 90.

in the United States after the civil war²⁸, Trumbull heartily agreed with the proposal that the work in Chile should be handed over to the Presbyterian Board of missions. Not only that, but at the time of the transfer, early in 1873, he was at his own request included as one of the missionaries of the Presbyterian board²⁹. It was in the first place due to Trumbull that nonconformists in Chile avoided the divisions which spoiled their witness in Peru and this is one of the reasons why non-conformist work among the foreigners in Chile formed a bridge towards establishing a work among the native population, whereas in Peru it did not.

Trumbull also paid the greatest attention to developing a literature programme. Already in 1848 he started publishing a small tract in Spanish, called *el Vecino* (the Neighbour), later renamed *el Amigo* (the Friend)³⁰. In 1869 he started publishing a sixteen page Spanish periodical called *la Piedra* (the Stone), which continued till 1879 when it was replaced by *la Alianza Evangélica* (the Evangelical Alliance), the official magazine of the Presbyterian mission³¹. He also published an English language paper, called *the Record*. In co-operation with the B.F.B.S. in 1861 he started the Valparaíso Bible society³². He founded a Bible depot and bookstore called "Victoria"³³ and, as will be seen, he wrote many articles for the press. He also collected funds for the publication of a cheap Roman Catholic New Testament³⁴.

In view of his lifelong connection with an English-speaking congregation the way in which Trumbull identified himself with the Chilean people and its needs was quite extraordinary. He started a home for abandoned children in Valparaíso³⁵. In matters of public welfare he co-operated heartily with the Roman Catholics. During a cholera epidemic he sent funds to the priest at San Felipe for the relief of distress³⁶. He helped with his advice in the political campaign which led to the establishment of religious tolerance in Chile in 1865, of secular cemeteries in 1883 and of civil marriage in 1884. His identification with the Chileans reached its logical conclusion in 1886 when he adopted Chilean nationality. When he died on February 1st. 1889, the Chilean congress suspended its sessions out of respect for the memory of an illustrious compatriot³⁷.

The astonishing thing about this man of peace³⁸, is that he made his

²⁸ Samuel E. Araya, An approach to evangelism in Chile on an ecumenical basis. Thesis Union Theological Seminary. N.Y. April 1, 1960. p. 41.

²⁹ Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A. May 1874 *Report*. p. 23.

³⁰ Oyarzún, *Op. Cit.* p. 19.

³¹ James McLean, *Op. Cit.* p. 20.

³² Browning, *Op. Cit.* p. 82.

³³ *La Piedra*, Published by Trumbull in Valparaíso. Mar. 1877.

³⁴ Margarette Daniels, *Op. Cit.* p. 191.

³⁵ James McLean, *Op. Cit.* p. 19.

³⁶ *Idem.* p. 26.

³⁷ K. S. Latourette, *Practical Anthropology*. 1958. p. 11.

³⁸ This manifests itself clearly in the correspondence to his fellow missionaries.

most decisive contribution through controversy. When he started sending Bibles to Santiago, Archbishop Rafael Valentín Valdivieso published a pastoral letter on March 12, 1858, prohibiting the reading of the Scriptures on the grounds that they were falsified. Trumbull refuted this charge in a letter which was published by a Santiago newspaper. The Archbishop then commissioned Father Francisco Martínez Garfías to reply, but after two or three exchanges he gave up ³⁹. Then in 1863 there was a very prolonged drought. An image of Isodorus, the patron saint of rain, was taken in procession through the streets of Valparaíso, handcuffed and with his ankles in chains ⁴⁰. The image was even flogged in public for being either unable or unwilling to provide rain. That same week Trumbull wrote an article for the press entitled: "Who will give rain?" or "Petitions to saint Isodorus", in which he strongly repudiated devotions to the saints ⁴¹. It so happened that one of the processions was followed by a heavy rainfall, and Manuel Antonio Matta, the editor of the paper which had placed Trumbull's article, suggested that this rain could be attributed to special atmospheric conditions ⁴². Then Bishop Mariano Casanova, who later became Archbishop of Santiago, replied in another paper in defence of devotions to the saints. A prolonged literary duel between Trumbull and Casanova followed, which attracted widespread attention.

Trumbull marshalled his arguments with such skill that eventually his opponents withdrew from the controversy, and from that day on many regarded Trumbull as their defence against clerical aspirations. The reason that this controversy was so fruitful was not, however, due to clever arguments. The spread of popular education in Chile was making people increasingly impatient of the superstitions of folk-Catholicism. The catastrophe of December 8, 1863, when 2000 people died in Santiago through the accidental kindling of the decorations at the feast of the Immaculate Conception there, served to underline the urgency of a religious renewal ⁴³. People like Matta with their purely materialistic explanations of natural phenomena, offered a solution, but it was a solution which meant the abandonment of all religious authority and of any continuity with the past. Many Chileans could not accept this as the right answer. To them Trumbull offered a constructive alternative, which satisfied them intellectually and yet preserved the best traditions. In this Trumbull plotted a course for Protestantism in Spanish America which at its best it has followed to this day, namely to serve a society already divided within itself, by presenting a fresh and viable alternative.

When Trumbull's work is compared with that of James Thomson,

³⁹ Oyarzún, Op. Cit. pp. 20f.

⁴⁰ Robert Cecil Moore, *Los Evangélicos en marcha en América Latina*. Stgo. 1959. p. 70.

⁴¹ James McLean, Op. Cit. pp. 21f.

⁴² Oyarzún, Op. Cit. pp. 21f.

⁴³ Marsh & Stirling, Op. Cit. p. 166.

two great differences can be noted; firstly that he did not shun ecclesiastical division or even controversy, and secondly, that he did not limit himself to the distribution and the teaching of Scriptures, but by all the ways open to him, strove to interpret those Scriptures and make them relevant to the situation of the day. These two things are not unrelated, because without ecclesiastical division or controversy he would never have had the chance to interpret the Scriptures. Except in the field of legislative reform, Trumbull did not, however, help the Spanish Americans to help themselves as Thomson had done. When the missionary work needed expansion he appealed to New York, both for workers and for money.

Compared to his contemporaries Trumbull is also distinguished by two things: firstly, his striving for unity, and secondly, his identification with the Chileans he came to serve. Because of these two things his work became a stepping stone by which Protestantism could pass over to the Chileans. In fact one might almost say that his whole life was a stepping stone. Because he stood so close to the other Chileans, he came to understand how he could pass on to them an interpretation of the Scriptures which was both fresh and relevant. Even division and controversy were for him but means by which a true unity could in the end be achieved.

c. The start of Spanish-speaking work among the Chileans

The success of Trumbull's controversy in 1863, together with the upsurge of liberalism at the end of Montt's presidency, led congress to pass the interpretative act of July 27, 1865 by which article V of the constitution, forbidding non-Roman Catholic worship, was held to mean that Protestants could only practise their religion in buildings and schools owned by them, provided always that no public manifestation was made by means of such things as steeples or church bells. This opened the way for the start of Spanish work and Trumbull immediately appealed to the American and Foreign Christian Union, for reinforcements⁴⁴. In 1866 Alexander M. Merwin and Sylvanus Sayre arrived in Chile. Merwin went to Santiago to help Gilbert with the Bible classes for Chileans that the latter had already been holding for some time in his own home, and also to assist in the establishment of a school. Sayre went to Talca⁴⁵.

After Mervin's arrival, Gilbert began to hold preaching services in his home, and on June 7, 1868 the first Chilean Evangelical church was organized in Santiago with four members⁴⁶. Merwin then moved to Valparaiso and started Spanish meetings there towards the end of

⁴⁴ Wheeler, Op. Cit. pp. 137f.

⁴⁵ James McLean, Op. Cit. p. 33; *The Record*, Valpo. Mar. 22, 1884; Ira. H. La Fetra, *The Chile Mission of the M. E. Church*. Stgo. 1894.

⁴⁶ James McLean, Op. Cit. pp. 33f.

1868⁴⁷, and on October 8 of the following year a Chilean church was organized there also. For a number of years, both in Santiago and Valparaíso, the English and Spanish services were held in the same buildings. The English service was held in the morning and the Spanish one in the evening⁴⁸. In contrast to what happened at some of the services which were started later in Santiago, these early Spanish meetings encountered relatively little opposition. A possible explanation is that these meetings were attended by the more cultured and educated Chileans connected with the liberal circles among which Trumbull had such an influence, whereas the services which were started later catered more for the common people.

In 1870 the American and Foreign Christian Union sent Samuel Julius Christen, a Swiss by birth, to Copiapó. The intention was that Christen should start English services in this mining centre 400 miles north of Santiago, but a few weeks after his arrival, a chaplain sent by the S.A.M.S. came there with the same purpose. Christen immediately changed his plans and devoted himself to Spanish meetings⁴⁹. He found it impossible to obtain a suitable meeting hall, and the constantly changing population of miners made it very difficult to build up a solid congregation⁵⁰. As a result Christen's attention was drawn increasingly to the possibilities of promoting Christian education and in 1874 he started a boys school in Copiapó. Chilean families gave their enthusiastic support to this new initiative⁵¹.

In 1871 Gilbert left Santiago for the United States where he died in the same year⁵². His place was taken by a young Chilean called José Manuel Ibañez, who had spent some years in California and had come into contact there with the Presbyterian church. He had started to study theology at the seminary at Sacramento with a view to taking the Gospel to his people on his return to Chile. He completed his theological education under Trumbull and was ordained by his missionary brethren in November 1871⁵³. He ministered in Santiago to a congregation of between 70 and 80 people, and at least on one occasion as many as 150⁵⁴. He had among his hearers a large number of university students

⁴⁷ Wheeler, *Op. Cit.* p. 140 and Oyarzún, *Op. Cit.* pp. 22 f. give the date as Sept. 27. but A. M. Merwin in a letter dated Jan. 1873 gives the date as Dec. 27.

⁴⁸ Wheeler, *Op. Cit.* p. 141.

⁴⁹ Goodsil F. Arms, *History of the William Taylor Self-supporting Missions in South America*. N.Y. 1921. p. 140; *The Record*. Valpo. March 22, 1884.

⁵⁰ B.F.M.P. May 1874, *Report*. p. 23.

⁵¹ James McLean, *Op. Cit.* p. 38 and Browning, *Op. Cit.* p. 86 state that Christen opened a school in Copiapó in 1877, but this is disproved by Trumbull's letter to Christen on Dec. 20, 1876 deploring the extent to which Christen had already involved himself in school work. Speer, *Op. Cit.* p. 162 and an outline statement on the Chile mission from about the year 1924, in possession of Stanley Rycroft, N.Y. report this detail correctly.

⁵² Speer, *Missions in South America*. N.Y. 1909. pp. 62f; Margaret Gilbert Erickson, *A Cross of Iron is his Tribute. To the memory of Nathaniel P. Gilbert*. N.Y. 1960.

⁵³ James McLean, *Op. Cit.* p. 41. and Oyarzún, *Op. Cit.* pp. 62f.

⁵⁴ B.F.M.P. May 1874, *Report*. p. 23; *The Record*, Valpo. Aug. 10, 1873.

and well-educated people from the city. He maintained a day school in Santiago and wrote many articles for the daily press ⁵⁵, as well as being editor of the evangelical paper *la Piedra* for a number of years. During a terrible small-pox epidemic in 1871 he went out on to the streets and visited the quarantine houses, seeking to comfort the afflicted and give them help ⁵⁶. In addition he paid visits to the neighbouring towns. In 1871 he was stoned out of San Felipe, to the north of Santiago ⁵⁷. After a trip in the same direction in 1875, he died suddenly on September 13 at the age of only 34 years. According to Webster Browning "he died of poisoning, administered it was generally believed by some of his enemies" ⁵⁸. In a letter Trumbull described the funeral and said that the members of his congregation were in tears ⁵⁹.

Ibañez's influence among the educated, liberal circles was very real, and yet the congregation he left behind only counted 33 full members. It was maintained by visits from Trumbull, Merwin and other foreign ministers until Christen could return from furlough in Switzerland at the very beginning of 1877 ⁶⁰. Christen then took charge of the Santiago congregation and in the same year set up a secondary school for boys, which until 1897 was known as the Instituto Internacional ⁶¹. There was considerable opposition to this development within the mission, on the grounds that Christen would no longer be able to devote the necessary time to preaching. In a letter to the Presbyterian board in New York, Christen points out that in spite of all the money and effort spent in Chile, the Protestant church only had 80 Chilean members in the whole country. His reason was that "foreigners have almost exclusively had charge of the mission". Therefore, he wanted to open a school "with a view to connecting it with a theological seminary and a normal school, increasing in this way the missionary agencies out of the country's resources" ⁶².

Apart from Ibañez who had offered himself for the ministry while he was still in the United States, there is no mention of any Chilean collaborating in the ministry until 1876, when a Chilean of English parentage is reported to have been helping Merwin in the Valparaíso Sunday school ⁶³. Further Merwin wrote in 1876 that a Spanish ex-priest was helping him ⁶⁴, and as will be seen later a Spaniard offered his services in 1878 to the McLeans in San Felipe. But not until 1882, that is 16 years after the start of regular Spanish preaching, is there any report of a national living in Chile offering himself for the ministry,

⁵⁵ Browning, Op. Cit. p. 92.

⁵⁶ Oyarzún, Op. Cit. pp. 33f.

⁵⁷ B.F.M.P. May 1879, Report.

⁵⁸ Browning, *The West Coast Republics of South America*. Lon. 1930. p. 28.

⁵⁹ Trumbull, Letter to B.F.M.P. Sept. 24, 1875. P.M.

⁶⁰ Oyarzún, Op. Cit. p. 34.

⁶¹ W. Reginald Wheeler, Op. Cit. Philadelphia 1926. p. 162.

⁶² S. J. Christen, Letter written from Stgo. to B.F.M.P. Jan. 23, 1887. P.M.

⁶³ B.F.M.P. May 1876, Report.

⁶⁴ A. M. Merwin, Letter dated April 1, 1876. P.M.

and of those who did offer in 1882 none stayed any length of time. This experience is in such marked contrast to that of Penzotti in Callao, where as we have seen six native colporteurs had offered themselves and been trained within the first year, that it cannot be attributed to incidental factors.

That these early Presbyterian missionaries were sincerely anxious to encourage nationals to take up the work cannot be doubted. Their ordination of Ibañez and the contents of their letters make this plain. One would have imagined that Ibañez's example and popularity would have provided a powerful stimulus to other Chileans and yet it was in Valparaiso, where a foreigner was in charge, that the work grew faster⁶⁵ and the offers of help were forthcoming. Foreign control could, therefore, not be the decisive factor that Christen believed it to be. The fact that the offers of help came only from those possessing a foreign background, suggests that the reason for the slow development lay not with the missionaries, but in the kind of people they were reaching. The uneducated people in Chile were fanatical whereas the cultured class were liberal and seemed to be much more open. Furthermore the English-speaking foreigners in Chile had all their contacts with the educated Chileans, and as Protestant work among foreigners in Chile had been the bridge over which the Gospel had passed to the Chileans, it was only natural that the early missionaries should direct their efforts to these cultured classes.

By 1876, it was, however, becoming obvious to the more far-sighted, and Christen was certainly among them, that however much the educated Chilean liberals might applaud the sentiments expressed by Protestantism, few were prepared to become actual members of the Protestant church, and the hope that any would be willing to give themselves to the Protestant ministry was not bright. The fear of social ostracism was undoubtedly one of the reasons for this, but not the only one. The basis of liberalism in Spanish America is a reaction against authoritarianism, and whereas these liberals in Chile were very ready in the controversy with their opponents to point to Protestantism as being a new and viable alternative, they were with few exceptions not willing to submit themselves to its authority. At the same time Christen realized that it would not be possible to educate adult converts from the lower classes up to a level which the Presbyterian church would consider acceptable for the ministry, and he, therefore, pinned his hope on the education of the young as a means of raising up a national ministry.

On October 31, 1877 Robert McLean and his wife arrived in Chile⁶⁶. They belonged to the group of missionaries who believed that direct evangelism, if persisted in, would bring the desired result, and two weeks after their arrival they settled in San Felipe, a small town to

⁶⁵ According to May 1874 report Merwin's congregation numbered from 100 to 120, whereas Ibañez's congregation varied from 70 to 80.

⁶⁶ Annual report of Chile Mission. Jan. 8, 1879. P.M.

the north of Santiago. More or less at the same time Juan Bautista Canut and his family had also taken up residence in the same place and in this way the mission came into contact with the greatest representative, as far as Protestantism is concerned, of another of Chile's resources, namely the many immigrants it had received from Latin countries in Europe. As stated above a Spanish ex-priest had been helping Merwin in Valparaíso, but he does not seem to have stayed long with the mission. The same is true of many of those who came from the ranks of the Latin immigrants, and Canut himself only played a decisive role right at the end of his life after he had changed his course several times.

Canut was born on October 1, 1846 at Valencia in Spain⁶⁷. At the age of 18 years he joined the Jesuits and became a "lay brother" and served as a tailor within the order. In 1870 he was transferred to the Argentine, and passed from there to Chile. On April 30, 1871 he withdrew from the Jesuits. Later, at the time of his return to the Roman Catholic church in 1884, Canut declared that his retiral was due to the fact that he wanted to study and that as lay brother he did not have this opportunity if he stayed in the Jesuit order⁶⁸. However, to the Board of missions of the Presbyterian church, in his letter of application to be accepted by them as worker, he stated that he left the Jesuits because he could never convince himself that their teachings were true and because he was disgusted with their intrigues⁶⁹. In this a certain duplicity manifests itself which he did not overcome till the last few years of his life.

On August 5, 1871 he married a Chilean lady called Virginia Robles Aguilar and settled in Los Andes. He went back to his work as tailor⁷⁰, and also sold cloth, but his constant removals betray a restlessness of spirit⁷¹. In 1873 he went to the Argentine, apparently with the intention of returning to Spain, but in 1875 he is back in Chile in Quillota. In December 1876, at the railway station there, he found a New Testament which had been thrown on to a rubbish heap. According to the notes he left in his Bible he considered this to be the first encounter he had with the Gospel⁷². In 1877 he is back again in Los Andes, but by the end of the year he had moved once again, this time to nearby San Felipe. In the letter to the Board of missions to which reference has been made, Canut writes that: "thanks to the mission of McLean I have found this salvation of my soul". *The Record* published in Valparaíso, in its number of December 17, 1879 makes a reference

⁶⁷ Canut's Bible. At the Sweet Memorial Institute. Stgo.

⁶⁸ Vergara, *El Protestantismo en Chile*. Stgo. 1962³, pp. 54-59.

⁶⁹ Canut's letter as translated by Robert McLean and sent to N.Y. with a covering letter by McLean dated July 1, 1878. P.M.

⁷⁰ Oyarzún, Op. Cit. p. 47.

⁷¹ It is possible to follow most of his movements because the dates and birthplaces of his children are marked in the Bible at the Sweet Memorial Institute. Stgo.

⁷² At this time priests in Peru and Chile had little first-hand knowledge of the Bible, so that it is quite possible that Canut as a lay brother had never even seen a copy of the Scriptures.

to Canut which begins: "About two years ago an intelligent Spaniard, then residing in San Felipe, became an ardent friend of the Gospel". This is supported by a note in his Bible which states that he was already preaching the Gospel in San Felipe in 1877.

There can, therefore, be little doubt that Canut was converted to Protestantism at the end of 1877 as a result of his contact with Robert McLean, in spite of his later assertion that he heard William Taylor preach in Los Andes and that from "his plain talks and testimony to the saving power of Jesus, I was led to surrender myself to God and to receive Jesus and was saved"⁷³. As will become clear later, William Taylor did not arrive in that area till February 1878 at the earliest, and that although Canut may well have heard Taylor preach, his later statement cannot have been exact. Yet in spite of his contradictions and vacillations when Canut finally came to full assurance of faith, he devoted himself to the cause of the Gospel with every fibre of his being. In this he was totally different from the liberals in Chile. While Canut had no difficulty in committing himself to a cause once he was absolutely convinced that it was the right one, the liberals seemed to have no difficulty in deciding what was the right cause, but very great difficulty in committing themselves to it.

d. A comparison between the beginnings of Protestantism in Peru and Chile

Although at the time that Thomson worked in these countries Peru was apparently more liberal than Chile, liberalism made much more rapid progress in Chile, so that in the latter half of the century Protestantism met far less opposition in Chile than in Peru. It is only natural, therefore, that Protestant church work both among the foreigners and those who were native to the country, came to be established earlier in Chile. What is not easy to understand is why the Protestant foreigners in Chile should be more united among themselves than in Peru. One would have imagined that the greater opposition in Peru would have tended to unite the foreigners there. Undoubtedly Trumbull's influence was of great help, but the tendency for greater unity among the foreigners in Chile has continued to this day, also in groups where Trumbull's influence is not in any way apparent.

Baffling as the problem of the Protestant foreigners' disarray in Peru may be, the effects are obvious. Firstly that English language services have not become the starting point for the evangelization of the Peruvians and secondly that the first group of the native population to be reached by the Protestant preaching were not the cultured people with whom the foreigners naturally had the greatest contact as in Chile, but the poorer classes. This second difference had a further repercussion on

⁷³ William Taylor, *The Story of my life*. N.Y. 1895. p. 680; Oyarzún, Op. Cit. p. 47.

the establishment of a national ministry. While Penzotti had no difficulty in encouraging his converts to give themselves to the service of the Gospel, in Chile this was a great problem.

As far as the problem of nationalism is concerned in the period under consideration, no difference is detectable between the two countries. In neither case has the writer been able to find the slightest trace of a nationalistic reaction against Anglo-Saxon missionaries. The objects of animosity were those preachers who had a Latin background, such as Penzotti and Ibañez. This would indicate that nationalism in these two countries does not direct itself against people and societies which are considered to be completely different, but against those with whom there is a considerable degree of affinity and contact.

CHAPTER V

PRESBYTERIANISM IN CHILE, AND THE PROBLEM OF ESTABLISHING A NATIONAL MINISTRY

a. Canut's failure as a Presbyterian preacher

Canut's early preaching in San Felipe was very bitter in tone towards the Roman Catholic church¹. As a result his clients became offended and he was obliged to close his tailor's shop². Robert Maclean then persuaded him to take up work for the mission³, and in June 1878 Canut wrote a letter of application to the Presbyterian board of missions in New York. In a covering letter Robert Maclean explained that Canut had already become much more gentle in his attitude towards those with whom he disagreed⁴. At the next annual session in January 1879 the missionaries discussed the advisability of employing Canut and on May 1 he was officially engaged. He figured in the annual report for that year as a native licentiate⁵ and Robert Maclean described him as "active, untiring and efficient" in his work⁶. Shortly afterwards Robert left San Felipe to join his Brother Eneas Maclean who the year before had established himself in Concepción, the third largest town in Chile.

Canut did not go with Robert to Concepción but was transferred to Santiago to help Julius Christen. There a primary school was established in Canut's home and he preached at meetings which were attended by forty to fifty persons⁷. Christen's opinion of Canut was also favourable⁸, and out of his own pocket he added a little to Canut's meagre salary. Robert Maclean, who maintained his close interest in Canut, protested that his allowance was wholly inadequate⁹. Nevertheless Canut does not seem to have complained about financial matters, neither at this time nor later. However, in April 1890 both Merwin in Valpa-

¹ R. Maclean's letter to the board in N.Y. written from San Felipe on July 1, 1878. P.M.

² *The Record*, Valpo. Dec. 17, 1879 ascribes the loss of Canut's lucrative business solely to the change in his religious views, but R. Maclean's admission sheds a different light on this.

³ R. Maclean's letter to the B.F.M.P. written from Concepción on Sept. 26, 1879. P.M.

⁴ R. Maclean's letter of July 1, 1878. P.M.

⁵ B.F.M.P. May 1880, *Report*.

⁶ R. Maclean's letter of Sept. 26, 1879. P.M.

⁷ Merwin's letter to the board in N.Y. written from Valpo. on Oct. 17, 1879. P.M.

⁸ S. J. Christen's letter to the board in N.Y. written from Stgo. on Feb. 20, 1880. P.M.

⁹ R. Maclean's letter of Sept. 26, 1879. P.M.

raiso and the Macleans in Concepción started complaining that Christen was so busy with his own school that he was leaving Canut to do things to which he should be attending himself ¹⁰, and was also not giving the necessary time to further Canut's education ¹¹. To avoid further trouble Christen agreed that Canut be transferred to Concepción. Eneas Maclean now devoted five hours a day to improving Canut's education, but, admitted Robert in a letter, "we find the greatest difficulty is in the line of exact truthfulness" ¹².

Meanwhile a fresh dispute had arisen, this time between the Macleans in Concepción and Merwin in Valparaíso. Much heat was generated, little light; in fact so much that heat that in September of that year the mission was divided into a northern and a southern branch ¹³, but so little light that from the correspondence the writer has been unable to deduce the issue at stake. It is surely significant that just at this time Eneas Maclean writes in reference to Canut: "many times though, I have been troubled by a puffing up of the old leaven" ¹⁴, Canut who two years earlier had written: "always I searched for the true light" ¹⁵ and who thought that he had found it with the Presbyterians, was clearly plunged into doubt by the conduct of those who sincerely wanted to help him. Robbed of his positive assurance and left only with a reaction against his Roman Catholic past, he reverted to making bitter attacks in his preaching. After a while his audiences became disgusted and dwindled away, so that in March 1881 Robert Maclean, in consultation with the other missionaries, felt obliged to suspend him ¹⁶.

As was to be expected Canut reacted strongly, but after a while he went to the Macleans to ask pardon for his faults and to express his desire to continue the work. This was refused because as Robert Maclean explained: "in accordance with our church laws, we must keep him out of the pulpit until he shows a true change, and until the scandals he has raised in his wrath, shall have become a thing of the past" ¹⁷. Anyone who knows what it costs a Spaniard to humble himself will appreciate on the one hand Canut's sincerity and on the other the depth of despair which the Macleans' response must have produced in him. Canut even came to doubt the reality of his reaction against Romanism, and he not only renounced Protestantism, but three years later in Curicó was received back into the Catholic church ¹⁸.

Feeling utterly discouraged because of the strife within the mission,

¹⁰ Christen's letter to Merwin, written from Stgo. on April 6, 1880. P.M.

¹¹ R. Maclean's letter to Merwin written from Concepción on April 26, 1880. P.M.

¹² R. Maclean's letter to the board in N.Y. written from Concepción on July 28, 1880. P.M.

¹³ R. Maclean's letter to the board in N.Y. Sept. 28, 1880. P.M.

¹⁴ E. Maclean's letter to the board in N.Y. Aug. 25, 1880. P.M.

¹⁵ Canut's letter accompanying R. Maclean's letter of July 1, 1878. P.M.

¹⁶ R. Maclean's letter to F. F. Ellinwood, mission secretary in N.Y. of Mar. 23, 1881. P.M.

¹⁷ R. Maclean's letter to Ellinwood written from Concepción on June 13, 1881. P.M.

¹⁸ Ignacio Vergara, *El Protestantismo en Chile*. Stgo. 1962³. pp. 58 f.

the Macleans decided the following year to withdraw from Chile so as to make a restoration of unity possible¹⁹. They left on February 14, 1883²⁰. On June 13 and the days following, the missionaries in Chile came together and united the work into one Presbytery²¹; this Presbytery agreed that the training of a national ministry was a priority and decided to help two young Chileans, one of them called Lopez, so that they could study for the ministry²². Robert Maclean later did good work in Puerto Rico and finished his missionary career as director of the work among the Spanish-speaking population in the United States²³. Some of the damage caused by this sad episode was thus repaired, but the Presbyterian mission in Chile never made good the loss of Canut, who later as a Methodist preacher showed such a remarkable ability for reaching the heart of the Chilean populace. After Canut the Presbyterians engaged several men in Chile who came from a Latin European background, and they even went to the length of bringing over Spanish preachers from Europe, but none made any great impact. The reason that the Presbyterians lost Canut was because of their own internal dissensions and this shows that unity among the foreigners is essential not only for the transmission of the Gospel to the native population, but also for the building up of a national ministry.

b. The disappointment of Alberto Vidaurre's ministry

In 1884 the postmaster at Constitución, a coastal town of 3000 to the south of Santiago, was converted through the reading of the Scriptures²⁴. He gathered a group together for Bible study and on February 1, 1885, thanks to the help of friends in Constitución and Valparaiso, a chapel was inaugurated which could accommodate about 150 people²⁵. David Trumbull was extremely enthusiastic about this new development and gave an address at the opening service as did Lopez, the ministerial candidate to whom reference has already been made²⁶. Vidaurre was the first well-educated Chilean to take up ministerial work in the country itself, and his impassioned oratory drew considerable crowds. On April 9, it was reported that the chapel could not hold all those who came to listen²⁷. A church was officially organized there in April²⁸

¹⁹ R. Maclean's letter to the board in N.Y. written on Mar. 1, 1882. P.M.

²⁰ S. W. Curtis' letter to F. F. Ellinwood written on Feb. 28, 1883. P.M.

²¹ Merwin's letter to Ellinwood June 13, 1883. P.M.; W. H. Lester's letter to Ellinwood June 21, 1883. P.M.

²² James H. McLean, *Historia de la iglesia Presbiteriana en Chile*. Stgo. 1932. p. 47.

²³ Idem. p. 39.

²⁴ John Mather Allis' letter to Ellinwood written from Stgo. on Jan. 27, 1885. P.M.; *Evangelical Christendom*, Lon. April 1894. p. 114 quoted from the *New York Observer*.

²⁵ *The Record*, Valpo. April 24, 1885.

²⁶ W. E. Dodge's letter to the board in N.Y. written from Valpo. on Feb. 6, 1885. P.M.

²⁷ *The Record*, Valpo. April 9, 1885.

²⁸ Dodge's letter to F. F. Ellinwood written on April 8, 1885. P.M.

and a year and a half later it had grown to over 60 members²⁹. Whereas the congregation in Valparaíso gave 275 Chilean pesos in 1885 and that in Santiago only 162, the collections in Constitución in the same year amounted to not less than 485 pesos³⁰.

A special course of additional studies was arranged for Vidaurre, but added to his duties as postmaster this proved to be too heavy a load, and so after June 1, the Presbyterian mission gave him an allowance of 100 Chilean pesos a month, so that he could engage help to relieve him of some of his responsibilities³¹. Vidaurre was at this time very willing to work for less than his postmaster's salary of 150 pesos a month, if only he could give more time to the preaching of the Gospel³². The congregation wanted him as pastor and so on July 26, he became the first Chilean to be ordained after Ibañez³³. He continued for a short time in his secular employment, but the double load became too heavy for him and on September 1, he laid down his secular work and was taken on as member of the Presbytery with the same remuneration as he had been receiving previously as postmaster³⁴.

Shortly afterwards Vidaurre discovered what the North American missionaries were receiving and from that moment his relations with the mission became more and more strained. Already in December he was asking for 200 pesos a month³⁵. A year later when Vidaurre was moved to Santiago this rise was granted³⁶, but even then a missionary under similar circumstances was receiving about 53 % more. Then in September 1888 Vidaurre asked for a further increase which would have brought his salary to within 82 % of what a member of the mission with five children would have been receiving³⁷, but this was refused by the mission on the grounds that the Chilean churches could never become self-supporting if such high salaries were to be paid to the pastors. The basic problem was, however, not one of money. After he had severed his personal connection with the Presbyterian mission, Vidaurre worked for a year on an independent basis within the Presbytery for about half the money he had been receiving from the Americans³⁸.

More than the actual sum of money they received, it was the discrimination practised against them which irritated the Chileans. Those who had studied on the field were admitted on ordination to the Presbytery which had "direction of only the practical work", but not to the

²⁹ Allis' report to N.Y. Sept. 1886. P.M.

³⁰ James McLean, Op. Cit. pp. 49 f.

³¹ *The Record*, Valpo. May 21, 1885.

³² Allis' letter of Jan. 27, 1885; Dodge's letter of April 8, 1885. P.M.

³³ A. J. Vidaurre's letter to F. F. Ellinwood written from Quilpué on Sept. 13, 1888. P.M.

³⁴ Allis' letter to Dodge. Sept. 7, 1885. P.F. Stgo.

³⁵ Allis' letter to the Chile Mission dated Dec. 26, 1885 P.F. Stgo.

³⁶ Vidaurre's letter to Ellinwood dated Sept. 13, 1888. P.M.

³⁷ Allis' letter to John Gillespie, secretary of Presbyterian missions, written on Jan. 28, 1889. P.M.

³⁸ Bercovitz's letter to N.Y. written on July 2, 1890. P.M.

mission which "retained absolute control of all money granted to this department"³⁹. A missionary wrote about the ordained nationals that: "they are very sensitive over authority and when they see that they are members of the Presbytery, they not only want equal voice, but would like equal remuneration"⁴⁰. Yet, in spite of the fact that the missionaries were perfectly aware of the feelings of the Chileans they persisted in taking this discrimination to its logical conclusion. In 1885 Lopez decided to continue his studies in the United States⁴¹, and in January 1888 he wanted to return as a member of the mission, but the missionaries in Chile opposed this⁴². The Board in New York, not wanting to lose a valuable worker, must have pressed the matter because in January 1890 the missionaries in Chile gave the following reply: "All the native brethren want to have a voice and vote in the managing of the funds, and we have serious fears as to the effect on the minds of those who knew Lopez, and were his companions, if he gets into the mission by way of New York and they are kept out because of studying in Chile"⁴³.

Vidaurre's reaction to the mission's refusal to increase his salary was to write direct to the Board in New York, pointing out that the ideal of self-support as envisaged by the missionaries was impracticable and that it was not fair to refuse national preachers higher salaries on this account⁴⁴. Vidaurre did not misjudge the situation because nearly eighty-five years later the Presbyterian church in Chile is still not self-supporting. But self-support had become such a dogma for the Board in New York that they could not listen, and discrimination had become such an issue for Vidaurre that he no longer reacted rationally. On July 31, 1889 he severed his connection with the mission and established what was meant to be a self-supporting church within the Presbytery in Valparaiso. In spite of the strained relationships, the missionaries decided to support this new venture in the hope that it would mark the beginning of self-support in earnest⁴⁵. Financial support for the start came mostly from the foreign community in Valparaiso⁴⁶. Further support was to come from the Chileans, but this expectation was not fulfilled and already in January 1890 Vidaurre was asking to be re-employed by the mission⁴⁷. The mission had, however, lost confidence in him and declined to do this, whereupon Vidaurre contacted the Methodists, who were at that time trying to start Spanish work, and went over to them together with his church⁴⁸.

Other discontented national preachers did not as yet go to the lengths

³⁹ W. H. Lester's letter to Gillespie written on May 28, 1890. P.M.

⁴⁰ Allis' letter to Boomer July 20, 1889. P.F. Stgo.

⁴¹ Allis' letter of Jan. 27, 1885 to N.Y. already quoted.

⁴² Allis' Presbytery report to N.Y. dated Jan. 18, 1888. P.M.

⁴³ Allis' letter to N.Y. written on Jan. 8, 1890. P.M.

⁴⁴ Vidaurre's letter to Ellinwood dated Sept. 13, 1888. P.M.

⁴⁵ Allis' letter to Gillespie dated Aug. 14, 1889. P.F. Stgo.

⁴⁶ Lester's letter to Gillespie dated Jan. 15, 1890. P.F. Stgo.

⁴⁷ Allis' letter to Gillespie dated Jan. 8, 1890. P.M.

⁴⁸ Lester's letter to Gillespie dated May 28, 1890. P.M.

of forming separate churches, but withdrew individually, and this whole issue of discrimination in the ministry has continued to bedevil relationships within the Presbyterian church in Chile right up to 1963 when the special connection with the United States was terminated. The difficulties with Vidaurre provide the earliest example of Protestant ecclesiastical nationalism in the countries being studied. There is no evidence that at this time the relations of the North American missionaries either with the Chileans in general or with the ordinary members of the Protestant churches were anything except extremely cordial. Political nationalism against North American influence is not mentioned till several years later when the United States supported Balmaceda's cause in the civil war of 1891⁴⁹. The trouble under consideration arose within the ministry where the common membership of the Presbytery provided a bond of union and encouraged certain expectations, but the distinction made about who was to control the monies used by the Presbytery frustrated those expectations on an important point.

An easy solution to the problem would have been to pay the nationals the same high salaries as the missionaries, but the drive for self-support made this impossible. Self-support, or rather the ideal of self-support, was not the cause of the conflict but did precipitate it, and the conflict, once started, brought schism and greatly hindered the development of a native ministry. Another solution, namely to reduce the missionaries' salaries, must have been suggested by the Board in New York, or at least by their secretary, almost immediately, because at the beginning of 1886 John Allis replied that it would be possible for missionaries to live on less, but that they would then have to do more work in the home instead of leaving it to servants and would consequently be able to do less for the mission⁵⁰. This answer seems for the moment to have satisfied the Board in New York, but it contradicted the basic mission policy of giving priority to the establishment of a Chilean ministry. It might seem a noble aspiration to want to give all the time possible to the work of the mission, but a basic requirement for building up a native ministry is that the missionary desist from doing things himself and encourage others in the doing of them.

In 1895 Robert Speer, who was then secretary in New York, once again urged the reduction of missionaries' salaries, to which James Garvin replied that he felt this would "mean a lowering in the grade of missionaries as it would the grade of any other class of employees". He ended with these words: "I am not prepared to enter into details - let the board send a man to decide"⁵¹, but the tone of his letter suggests that this is the last thing he wanted the Board to do. The first time that the matter of salaries was discussed frankly with the nationals was in

⁴⁹ Hubert Herring, *A History of Latin America*. N.Y. 1963². pp. 586 f.

⁵⁰ Allis' letter to Ellinwood dated Jan. 17, 1886. P.M.

⁵¹ Garvin's letter to Speer dated July 10, 1895 P.M.

1909⁵², but by then the issue of discrimination in the ministry had long ceased to be limited to the matter of salaries. It seems hard to avoid the conclusion that the missionaries were unwilling to deny themselves in this important matter of monetary remuneration. They imagined that the national workers were in effect their employees in the same way as they considered themselves to be employees of the Board in New York, and that just as the Board in New York fixed their salaries so they had a right to fix the salaries of their national brethren.

c. The beginning of independent national churches in Chile

When it became known that Vidaurre had gone over to the Methodists, a Presbyterian missionary confessed to a "feeling of relief"⁵³, but within two months the same missionary was trying to cope with trouble that had arisen in Concepción between the missionary and the national preacher there over the election of an elder⁵⁴. As will appear this was the same problem, but in another form. As far as Vidaurre was concerned, however, for five years there was apparent relief. The salaries of the Methodist missionaries were very much lower than those of their Presbyterian colleagues, so that the discrepancy which previously had so irked Vidaurre no longer arose. This shows that his previous reaction was not directed so much against the denial of his own expectations as against the refusal of the missionaries to deny theirs. Vidaurre's work for the Methodists in Valparaíso does not seem to have been successful; at any rate it was closed down in 1892⁵⁵ and he was transferred to the Argentine for three years. In April 1895 he returned to Chile and was located in Iquique⁵⁶, where the Methodists had their oldest Spanish work. Soon, however, a conflict arose about who should be appointed as Sunday school superintendent, as well as other matters. In the beginning of 1896 Vidaurre decided to free himself from the ecclesiastical dominance of the foreigners. He seceded with quite a large group and set up the first independent Chilean church⁵⁷.

The new church was unable to maintain itself and soon dwindled to nothing⁵⁸, but its emissaries continued to do considerable damage to other existing congregations. In 1899 they divided the Presbyterian church in Vallenar⁵⁹, and by 1900 they had destroyed the work in

⁵² Webster Browning's letter to John White (Secretary N.Y.). Dec. 25, 1909. P.M.

⁵³ Lester's letter to Gillespie dated May 28, 1890. P.M.

⁵⁴ Lester's letter to Jorquera dated July 9, 1890. P.F. Stgo.

⁵⁵ Goodsil Arms, *El Origen del Metodismo y su implantación en la costa occidental de Sud-América*. Stgo. 1923. p. 52.

⁵⁶ *El Heraldo Evangélico*, Stgo. April 10, 1895.

⁵⁷ Allis' letter to Speer dated Jan. 10, 1896. P.M.

⁵⁸ Goodsil F. Arms, *History of the William Taylor Self-supporting Missions in South-America*. N.Y. 1921. pp. 141 ff; *El Cristiano*, Stgo. 29 de noviembre 1909.

⁵⁹ Garvin's letter to Speer. dated July 12, 1899; Quiroga's letter dated April 15, 1899. P.M.

Taltal⁶⁰. Even after the church in Iquique had petered out, its influence continued to be felt. When the Presbyterians dismissed their worker in Chillan in southern Chile, he split their congregation in San Fernando and set up a national church there⁶¹. Two years later this national church was described as feeble in itself and yet it was "seriously interfering with the work in Curicó", and the letter ends by deploring "the disintegrating effect of movements which have as basis 'nationalism' "⁶². This is the earliest use of this term in the documents that the writer has examined, although, as has been shown, the phenomenon was already beginning to manifest itself in the Protestant churches of Chile some twenty years earlier.

In the years before 1890 Protestant nationalism consisted of a reaction against the discrimination in salaries practiced by the missionaries, followed by an assertion of the ideal of self-support. From 1890 onwards there was also a reaction against the special authority assumed by the foreigners in the making of ecclesiastical appointments, which led to a movement for a completely independent church. The common factor in both these manifestations of nationalism is that authority meant something quite different to the two parties. The missionaries held to an impersonal view of authority. The Board in New York paid them and had authority over them. They paid the national workers and therefore they believed that they had the right to control both the salaries and the activities of these workers within the church. What these missionaries failed to take into consideration was that their Chilean converts did not share their impersonal, almost monetary, concept of authority.

Authority for the Spanish colonizers of Chile was invested in their king, who in the South American possessions was head both of the church and the state. After the emancipation a series of presidents tried to take over these functions of the Spanish king and this led to the long struggle with the Vatican about the right to name the bishops⁶³. Eventually the liberal reaction broke the close connection between church and state without the personalized nature of authority being basically affected. Liberals continued to vest authority in the leaders of their party and it was only natural that Chileans who were converted to Protestantism, without fully understanding the implications of what they had done, should vest authority in their national pastors. In other words this nationalistic movement tried to replace the authority of money, which was symbolized by the missionary, with the authority of their own group as personified in their national pastor.

In its positive aspect this Protestant nationalistic movement consisted of the projection of the aspirations of the little groups involved. The

⁶⁰ Schmalhorst's letter to Speer dated July 5, 1900. P.M.

⁶¹ Browning's letters to Speer dated May 10, and June 1, 1905. P.M.

⁶² Boomer's letter to Speer dated June 29, 1907. P.M.

⁶³ William J. Coleman, *Latin American Catholicism. A study of the Chimbote report*. N.Y. 1958. pp. 17 ff.

Chilean non-Protestant could find loftier aspirations in the Roman Catholic tradition he already possessed, and the same could be said for the Protestant missionary and his tradition. This movement failed, therefore, to attract or impress either of these groups. In its negative aspects, however, it did correspond to a real grievance felt by many Protestant converts, and for this reason it was able to make such inroads into existing Protestant churches and groups, but its ideals of self-support and independence were intrinsically too negative to inspire its adherents with the self-denial needed to keep the movement alive after it had passed its first enthusiasm. Protestant nationalism in its pure form does not occur again in Chile; many later movements exhibit nationalistic tendencies, but their ethos is different.

d. The theological seminary in Santiago

In 1882 a layman keenly interested in the mission suggested that a seminary be established to train a native ministry⁶⁴, and in October 1883 John Mather Allis, a doctor of divinity, arrived in Chile with that object in mind⁶⁵. After having investigated the possibilities in Valparaíso⁶⁶, he decided to start the seminary in part of the Instituto Internacional building in Santiago, thus fulfilling one of Christen's dreams for this institution. Allis immediately arranged study courses for those who were already working in the ministry, namely Vidaurre in Constitución, Lopez who was then still in Valparaíso, and Bercovitz, a Jew of Spanish descent who had come to Chile from Constantinople in 1882⁶⁷, and who was evangelizing in Chillan in his free time⁶⁸. Allis also arranged that young men who felt a calling for the ministry be given financial assistance by the mission so that they could attend the Instituto Internacional in preparation for entrance to the theological seminary proper⁶⁹.

The training of people already in the ministry naturally had to be spread out over a long time, and there were complaints that the training was not sufficiently thorough, but on the whole the results were better than with youths who were sent to the Instituto Internacional without any previous experience in the ministry. Furthermore after a few years the supply of young people who showed that they had a calling for the ministry began to dry up. Bercovitz in a letter pointed out that the Presbyterian work had largely been confined to "foreigners and liberals" and complains of the lack of personal commitment among them. In reference to the theological seminary he then asks: "Where at present are

⁶⁴ B.F.M.P. May 1884, *Report*.

⁶⁵ *The Record*, Valpo. Oct. 5, 1883.

⁶⁶ Allis' letter to Ellinwood written from Valpo. and dated Nov. 2, 1883. P.M.

⁶⁷ Allis' letter to Gillespie dated Jan. 28, 1889. P.M.; *The Record*, Valpo. July 22, 1882.

⁶⁸ Allis' letter to Ellinwood dated Jan. 27, 1885. P.M.

⁶⁹ B.F.M.P. May 1892, *Report*.

the *truly converted* people among the natives to be trained in such an institution" ⁷⁰. Nor did the training in the school and the seminary seem to produce ripeness for the ministry. To the contrary, there were complaints of worldliness and even immorality among the students in Santiago ⁷¹.

In a paper entitled "How to raise up a native ministry in Chile", which he prepared in 1886, Allis wrote as follows: "The question of raising up a native ministry includes the multiplication of local centers, if not by the organization of the little companies into churches, certainly by the grouping of little companies into societies of enquiry" ⁷². It seems clear then that he recognized that the elements for a native ministry would arise not in a central school or seminary, but at the level of the local groups. These groups did not materialize, however, and the Presbyterian work remained restricted to the main centres ⁷³. But even if Allis' vision could have been realized, it is very unlikely that candidates for the ministry coming from small groups would have been accepted. Three years later one of the other missionaries wrote: "Native helpers are not men of sufficient ability to make much impression on this sceptical and critical people. In other words we ask permission to dismiss certain Chileans and engage in their place Spaniards who we believe are more fitted for the work" ⁷⁴.

The preparation of young men for the ministry was also hindered by the fact that in an effort to be self-supporting the Instituto Internacional had to charge relatively high fees, and that as a result the scholars who attended it came mostly from the wealthy families. The ministerial candidates, who with few exceptions came from the poorer families in the churches, were therefore trained in an atmosphere which was for them abnormal ⁷⁵. The danger was great that they either became unsure of themselves or were puffed up with conceit. A missionary's wife wrote about one pastor who had come from the seminary that "his treatment of us had its roots in jealousy, and therefore, the more we did for him, the worse he treated us" and in reference to another graduate she added: "It is a mystery to me how the mission could have retained him for six years in his increasing pride, arrogance and overweening conceit" ⁷⁶. When the seminary was closed in 1898 Allis had trained 37 students ⁷⁷, but of these only six were then still in the ministry, four as ordained pastors and two as licentiates ⁷⁸. Such a rate of loss made the seminary an ineffective instrument for raising up a native ministry.

⁷⁰ Bercovitz's letter to Gillespie dated Jan 28, 1890.

⁷¹ Idem; Allis' letter to Gillespie dated March 15, 1890. P.M.

⁷² *The Record*, Valpo. Aug. 12, 1886.

⁷³ Robert E. Speer, *Missions in South-America*. N.Y. 1909. p. 78.

⁷⁴ Lester's letter to Gillespie dated Sept. 4, 1889. P.M.

⁷⁵ Schmalhorst's letter to Speer dated April 20, 1904. P.M.

⁷⁶ Mrs. Boomer's letter to Gillespie dated May 30, 1891. P.M.

⁷⁷ B.F.M.P. May 1899, *Report*.

⁷⁸ James McLean, *Op. Cit.* p. 63.

Two of the ordained pastors were, however, outstanding men and their careers in the Presbyterian church need to be considered.

e. Robert Elphick

Elphick's father was an English engineer and his mother came from a part of Chile that had originally belonged to Bolivia ⁷⁹. As a boy he received a Protestant education in Santiago, but later he started drinking and became so unreliable in his dealings that in a fit of rage his father had expelled him from home. Finding himself suddenly alone and in very reduced circumstances, he remembered that his school teacher in Santiago had given him a New Testament, and started to read it. After a short time his father relented and allowed him to return. The family must then have been living in Constitución, or nearby, because after his return Robert started attending Bercovitz's services and was truly converted ⁸⁰.

Bercovitz was a most earnest Christian man ⁸¹, but somewhat eccentric, and although the Presbyterian mission was pleased with the way he ran the parochial school at Constitución they were unhappy about him as pastor and wanted him to give up preaching and devote himself to school work. This Bercovitz was unwilling to do ⁸², and so he resigned from the mission in August 1891 and went to the United States ⁸³. Bercovitz did not give advance notice of all this to anybody in Constitución, and on his last Sunday suddenly announced an ordination service, called Robert to the platform and ordained him pastor in his stead. Then, "without further ceremony the pastor announced to the congregation and to the newly ordained pastor, that he was leaving immediately" ⁸⁴. What the Presbyterian mission thought of this procedure is not recorded, but they were delighted with Bercovitz's choice.

After Elphick had continued the church and school work in Constitución successfully for several months, the Presbyterian mission, which considered him "too valuable a young man" to remain in such a small church, transferred him to Santiago so that he could receive theological training ⁸⁵. Thanks to his family background and the deep spiritual experiences through which he had passed, Robert kept his balance through all these abrupt changes and remained humble and full of zeal ⁸⁶. In 1896 he finished his theological studies and the Presbytery licensed him to preach and sent him to Tocopilla, a mining town in

⁷⁹ L. F. Sumrall, *Through Blood and Fire in Latin America*. Grand Rapids 1944. p. 58; Florence E. Smith's letter to Speer. March 9, 1904. P.M.

⁸⁰ L. F. Sumrall, *Op. Cit.* pp. 58-62.

⁸¹ Dodge's letter to Gillespie written from Valpo. on May 9, 1890. P.M.

⁸² Allis' letter to Gillespie dated March 15, 1890. P.M.

⁸³ Lester's letter to Gillespie dated Sept. 30, 1891. P.M.

⁸⁴ Sumrall, *Op. Cit.* p. 63.

⁸⁵ B.F.M.P. May 1892, *Report*.

⁸⁶ Florence Smith's letter to Speer. Mar. 9, 1904. P.M.

northern Chile⁸⁷. The following year he was ordained⁸⁸, and by the time that he was moved to Taltal⁸⁹ in 1900 he had built up a remarkable work in Tocopilla. The report about his work there said: "In and about the city, nine district meetings are held each week. Two are in the open air, but on private property, and three are in the slums. A band of efficient helpers has been raised up. He has a class for these preachers on Monday evening when methods are discussed and suggestions made. His room is always open and these five or six helpers come in at all times of the day when prayer is made"⁹⁰.

In 1904 Elphick was moved to Valparaíso to take charge there during the absence of a missionary⁹¹. He "stirred up the dry bones of the church"⁹² but the spiritual struggle with a congregation "supremely satisfied with their own salvation"⁹³ proved too much for his health and to some extent for his faith, and in May 1905 he asked for leave of absence to have a complete rest at his father's home in Iquique⁹⁴. Already at the beginning of the year he had told one of the Presbyterian missionaries that he was thinking of going over to the Methodists because he had seen a power in several of their workers that he missed in the Presbyterian church, "and he felt he might be able to do a greater work for Christ in that fold"⁹⁵. In September he resigned from the mission on grounds of doctrine, but one of the Presbyterian missionaries was convinced that this was not the reason and wrote: "He is by temperament a Methodist and their methods and manners suit him better than ours. I am quite convinced that those methods and manners are quite adapted to many of the people; better perhaps than our own for the great majority of the Chilean people"⁹⁶.

There can be no doubt that compared to the early Methodist work in Chile, the Presbyterian church made a cold impression on the Chileans. This was a major reason why the Methodists, once they had established Spanish work, grew much more rapidly than the Presbyterians. This factor was of less importance among the more educated people in the larger centres, but was decisive in the rural areas, and explains why Allis' vision of building up a widespread network of groups could not be realized by the Presbyterians. At the time of Elphick's resignation several of the Presbyterian missionaries felt that this impression of coldness was due to a reserve in outward manners which was natural to them. For instance they did not address the members of their churches as "hermano" (brother) as several of the Methodist mission-

⁸⁷ Allis' letter to Speer dated Jan. 10, 1896. P.M.

⁸⁸ James McLean, *Op. Cit.* pp. 62 f.

⁸⁹ Garvin's letter to Speer dated Jan. 23, 1901. P.M.

⁹⁰ B.F.M.P. May, 1900, *Report*.

⁹¹ B.F.M.P. May 1904, *Report*; Garvin's letter to Speer dated June 24, 1904. P.M.

⁹² Florence Smith's letter to Speer dated March 22, 1905. P.M.

⁹³ Florence Smith's letter to Speer dated Jan. 22, 1906. P.M.

⁹⁴ Browning's letter to Speer dated May 10, 1905. P.M.

⁹⁵ Boomer's letter to Speer dated Jan. 17, 1905. P.M.

⁹⁶ Garvin's letter to Speer dated Oct. 2, 1905. P.M.

aries did ⁹⁷. On one occasion there was trouble because one of the Presbyterian missionaries did not share his food with a Chilean preacher who was accompanying him on an evangelistic trip ⁹⁸. Also it seems highly unlikely that the Presbyterian missionaries greeted the Chileans with a brotherly embrace as is the custom between friends in many parts of South America. The missionaries must have thought that these were merely "outward" matters, but they forgot that except in the case of a prolonged acquaintance the Chileans had no other way of judging their inner feelings. In South America these forms play an important part in human relations and the failure to use them illustrates the unwillingness or inability of these missionaries to deny their national and cultural heritage.

William Boomer, one of the Presbyterian missionaries, understood something of this. After a talk with Elphick he wrote: "There is alas too much ground for his feeling. I feel there is among us a failure to "yield" fully to God and to depend humbly upon Him" ⁹⁹. Elphick's experience of the introverted congregation in Valparaiso and the unwillingness or inability of many of its members to rise above an interest in their own salvation had convinced him that there was a deficiency in Presbyterian doctrine. Through his contact with Harrington, the Methodist missionary in his home town of Iquique ¹⁰⁰, Elphick had come to know something about the doctrine of sanctification by faith to which many Methodists then still adhered. This doctrine which goes back to John Wesley, but has suffered some modifications in Methodist history, is an attempt to grapple with the problem of the Protestant who recognizes that he is absolutely dependent on God's initiative to receive forgiveness, but then reverts to his own initiative when it comes to expressing that divine forgiveness in his daily living. St. Paul expressed this dilemma very forcibly as follows: "Are ye so foolish? Having begun in the Spirit, are ye now made perfect by the flesh?" ¹⁰¹.

The Methodists, or at least a section of them, insisted that just as God's initiative for our forgiveness needed to be apprehended in an experience called conversion, in which the sinner gave up all attempt to justify himself, so God's continuing initiative for our sanctification needed to be experienced in an act of total consecration, sometimes called the "second blessing", in which the one who knew himself to be reconciled gave up all attempts at improving himself.

John Wesley taught that there were three stages in the Christian life, namely, repentance, justification and sanctification ¹⁰². The first stage

⁹⁷ Florence Smith's letter to Speer dated Jan. 22, 1906. P.M.

⁹⁸ Lester's letter to Bahamondes dated July 10, 1890. P.F. Stgo.

⁹⁹ Boomer's letter to Speer dated Jan. 17, 1905. P.M.

¹⁰⁰ Boomer's letter to Speer dated Mar. 30, 1906. P.M.

¹⁰¹ Galatians 3 : 3 Authorised Version. (It makes little difference from the point of view of the above argument whether Spirit has a capital letter or not. The writer prefers the rendering "are ye now *being* made perfect in the flesh?")

¹⁰² Harald Lindström, *Wesley and Sanctification*. Lon. 1956³. pp. 121 f.

depended largely on the individual's own initiative, but the second and third stages were in the first place instantaneous acts of God, so that although Wesley himself did not use the term "second blessing" it did express a part of his teaching. Unfortunately the term failed to convey the fact that for Wesley sanctification was also a gradual process¹⁰³, but this deficiency was somewhat compensated in practice by the Methodists' regularly repeated altar calls and the successive reconsecrations.

Naturally the Presbyterians taught the need of yielding to God, but they did not crystallize this teaching into an experience, and among people with comparatively little education experience is even more important than with people who are intellectually more developed. If Boomer had to lament the lack of yielding among the well-educated missionaries, is it any wonder that the members of their congregations had difficulty in denying themselves in favour of a real interest in the salvation of their neighbours?

f. Tulio Moran

Tulio Moran and his elder brother Alberto belonged to the group which attended the Instituto Internacional prior to entering the seminary. In 1895 Tulio was licensed to preach and sent to the church in Concepción¹⁰⁴. Earlier this church had suffered considerably because of a quarrel between its previous national pastor and the resident missionary¹⁰⁵. In an effort to overcome the difficulty the missionary had been moved elsewhere. The result of this, coupled with the comparatively isolated position of Concepción right at the south of the area where the Presbyterians were working, was that Tulio Moran was left largely to himself. He was an intimate friend of Elphick¹⁰⁶, and is still remembered in Concepción as a very sincere and self-denying man¹⁰⁷. Under his inspiring ministry and gifted preaching¹⁰⁸, the church started to flourish.

Tulio Moran did not, however, feel himself bound by the normal Presbyterian practices. His watchword and that of his congregation was liberty. For that reason he drank wine in spite of the misunderstanding that this caused among the other Evangelical Christians. The pastor and the congregation tried to follow what they believed was the example of the primitive apostolic church. Education was decried, because the apostles were not highly educated and a form of communism was ad-

¹⁰³ Idem. p. 123.

¹⁰⁴ James McLean, Op. Cit. p. 62.

¹⁰⁵ Lester's letter to Allis dated Dec. 12, 1891; Boomer's letter to Allis dated Feb. 13, 1892. P.M.

¹⁰⁶ Boomer's letter to Speer dated Mar. 30, 1906. P.M.

¹⁰⁷ Arturo Ellyeta, Reminiscences to the writer of the oldest surviving member of the Concepción church; McLean's letter to Speer dated Oct. 8, 1908. P.M. describes Tulio Moran as "thoroughly sincere".

¹⁰⁸ Boomer's letter to Speer dated April 1, 1902. P.M. Vol. 29 no. 2; McLean's letter to Speer dated June 10, 1907.

vocated because the revival of Pentecost had been followed by a whole-hearted renunciation of property ¹⁰⁹. Beside his pastoral duties Tulio Moran wrote many articles for the press and for various magazines. All went well ¹¹⁰ till the beginning of 1907, when as a result of overwork he became seriously ill and was afflicted with temporary insanity ¹¹¹. James McLean, a new missionary, was transferred to Concepción to tide over the difficulty. Three months later he wrote: "This congregation is nondescript in relation to any system of doctrine or policy. In government they are Congregationalist, as concerns baptism – ultra immersionists, in worship fiery Methodists. Hostility to the rich and educated extends its forbidding arms, an exaggerated type of communism repels the sane enquirer, and the relinquishment of voter's rights makes Christ appear in a false light to a liberty-loving citizen who prizes his blood-bought franchise. Can we not do something for the rich and polished sinners for whom Christ died?" ¹¹².

Under so-called parliamentary rule after Balmaceda's defeat in 1891 Chilean politics had become tragically corrupt. To the North American the right to vote may have been a "blood-bought franchise", but to a Chilean belonging to the poorer classes at that time it was something to be sold to the highest bidder. By relinquishing the right to vote, these Christians in Concepción were seeking as best they knew how, to re-establish the foundations for a true democracy. As yet not even the Socialist party had been established in Chile, but in these years of great distress among the poor, the congregation in Concepción was trying to express something of the social implications of the Gospel they had heard. Their Congregationalism was the natural result of their isolation; their emphasis on baptism by immersion was an attempt to underline the fact that conversion was for them a decisive break with the past; their fiery worship was an attempt to bring warmth into the services.

Because he did not set in its true perspective the irregular church practice that had arisen in Concepción, McLean became too critical of what he saw. As a result he felt he had to stay on even after Moran was able to preach again and this produced a hostile reaction, especially among the consecrated members of the congregation ¹¹³, who must have felt that in some way their sincerity was being called in question. When McLean failed to correct this situation the mission moved Boomer, who was by then an experienced missionary, to Concepción at the beginning of 1909 and put him in charge of the work there. Tulio Moran was to be "associated" with Boomer ¹¹⁴. The result was that on June 25, Moran resigned from the mission ¹¹⁵, and that in August the congregation was

¹⁰⁹ McLean's letter to Speer dated Oct. 8, 1908.

¹¹⁰ B.F.M.P. May 1907, *Report*.

¹¹¹ Arturo Ellyeta's reminiscences. McLean's letter to Speer. March 14, 1907. P.M.

¹¹² James McLean's letter to Speer dated June 10, 1907. P.M.

¹¹³ McLean's letters to Speer dated Jan. 16, and Oct. 8, 1908. P.M.

¹¹⁴ B.F.M.P. May 1909, *Report*.

¹¹⁵ Boomer's letter to Speer dated Oct. 4, 1909. P.M.

divided ¹¹⁶. 30 members stayed with Boomer in the main building ¹¹⁷ and about 100 went with Moran to form a church which was independent of the mission but still formed part of the Presbytery ¹¹⁸.

The situation was further complicated by the fact that Moran then started sympathizing with the Pentecostal movement which had started earlier that year in Valparaiso and which was also an attempt to interpret the Gospel in a more Chilean way. This together with Moran's refusal to "submit to Presbyterian law", decided the Presbytery in December to terminate the pastoral relations with him and declare the pulpit vacant ¹¹⁹. There was a general feeling among the Presbyterian members in Concepción, that the national pastors were not being given enough freedom, but most felt that this was not sufficient reason to secede from the Presbyterian church. The result was that only a minority stayed with Moran to form a completely independent church and the majority returned to the Presbyterian fold ¹²⁰. Prior to the attempts of the missionaries to bring the church into line with Presbyterian rules there is no trace of anti-Americanism to be noted in the records. The congregation was described as: "enthusiastic and self-sacrificing, but erratic" ¹²¹ and no one doubted Moran's sincerity. Undoubtedly in trying to feel their way toward a more meaningful expression of the Gospel they made mistakes, but if only the mission had been willing to think the whole problem through with them, instead of imposing foreign supervision and applying rules, surely this tragedy could have been avoided.

McLean wrote at the time: "It may appear that the Concepción church has been lost to us through the tongues movement, but that is only a coincidence, for we all realize that through lack of supervision that church was lost to us years ago" ¹²². The basic trouble was not, however, a lack of supervision, but a surplus of United States nationalism. As soon as the missionaries discovered that the church practice in Concepción was irregular they reacted against what they felt was a failure to conform to the Gospel by asserting their Presbyterian law. The missionaries forgot that this law had arisen as a result of an attempt by European or Anglo-Saxon people to conform to the Gospel in their own environment. Within that environment this law represented a real denial of their own aspirations, but the attempt to impose this law by means of "supervision" on a congregation in very different circumstances was not a denial, but just an assertion of aspirations which were native to Europe or to the United States.

¹¹⁶ Boomer's letter addressed to 'Dear Friends' dated Jan. 12, 1910. P.M.

¹¹⁷ Boomer's letter addressed to 'Dear Friends' dated Aug. 25, 1910. P.M.

¹¹⁸ Browning's letters to John White dated Sept. 1 and Dec. 25, 1909. P.M.

¹¹⁹ Boomer's letters addressed to 'Dear Friends' dated Jan. 12 and Aug. 25, 1910. P.M.

¹²⁰ Arturo Ellyeta's recollections.

¹²¹ Browning's letter to Speer dated Oct. 4, 1909. P.M.

¹²² James McLean's letter to White dated Dec. 21, 1909. P.M.

By 1910 of all the people that Allis had trained only Alberto, Tulio's older brother, remained in the ministry. He was described as somebody "not calculated to disturb the lightest slumber"¹²³ and it is likely that he never became involved in difficulties with the Presbyterian mission, simply because he had nothing like the character and energy of his younger brother. The Presbyterian mission had a hand in training men, some of whom were to play a vital part in the further development of Protestantism in Chile, but they never enjoyed the fruits themselves. Canut they lost because of their inner dissensions, Vidaurre became soured because the missionaries refused to sacrifice their standard of living, Elphick slipped through their fingers because of their unwillingness to adapt themselves in their manners and doctrine to the more emotional atmosphere in Chile, and Tulio Moran could no longer be used by them because they insisted on holding on to the Presbyterian rules which were developed against a different cultural background. The conclusion can only be that if one wishes to do missionary work and above all if one wishes to establish a native ministry in another land, it is necessary to abandon very much of that which may justifiably be considered essential in one's own country. Whether one has to abandon everything is a question which will gradually become clearer in the further development of Protestantism in these two countries.

¹²³ Florence Smith's letter to Speer dated March 22, 1905. P.M.

CHAPTER VI

LATER PRESBYTERIANISM IN CHILE

a. The troubled history of the Santiago school

The boys' secondary school in Santiago seemed to act as a magnet for all the mission's problems in Chile. This was partly due to the fact that it was the largest and most spectacular mission project, but even more because so much was expected of it. Whereas the primary school and orphanage in Valparaiso, and the maternity clinic and student hostel in Santiago were seen more as means of serving the community, the Santiago school was presented as a means of breaking down prejudice against the Gospel, as a source of candidates for the ministry, as a centre for training them, and as a way of reaching the upper classes who were not being touched through the churches. In Christen's time the Instituto Internacional followed the same educational programme as the government schools, and as a result in the early days it attracted young Chileans of good family who later served their country well in positions of responsibility ¹.

Already in 1887, however, a complaint was made that the Instituto had not produced a single convert ², and in 1896 it was pointed out that the school was not an evangelizing force ³. Apart from some boys who were Evangelicals already and who were sent there by the mission specially to be trained for the ministry, the school was not a source of candidates for the ministry either. In 1887 the reason given was that Christen was not aggressive enough in his evangelistic methods; later that he taught the truths "only intellectually" ⁴; next that he engaged too many German teachers ⁵, and finally that the German idea of conversion prevented adequate personal evangelism among the boys ⁶. Christen replied that if he evangelized openly in the school it would never be able to support itself financially ⁷. When even that aim was not being attained and the school became a heavy burden for the Board in New York ⁸, it was decided that a change of policy was needed and

¹ Outline Statement on the Chile Mission 1924. Paper in Stanley Rycroft's possession in N.Y. pp. 15 ff.

² Allis' letter to Gillespie dated April 5, 1887. P.M.

³ William Boomer's letter to Speer dated Aug. 14, 1896. P.M.

⁴ W. H. Lester's letter to Speer dated April 29, 1893. P.M.

⁵ Allis' letter to Gillespie dated Aug. 14, 1889. P.F. Stgo.

⁶ Allis' letter to Gillespie dated May 18, 1889. P.F. Stgo.

⁷ Allis' letter to Gillespie dated April 5, 1887. P.M.

⁸ Robert E. Speer, *Missions in South-America*. N.Y. 1909. p. 72.

in 1897 Christen was asked to leave, which he did at the beginning of 1898⁹.

The new principal, Webster Browning, cut out Spanish teaching altogether, renamed the school Instituto Inglés, and made it in effect a United States high school. In this way the competition of the subsidized government schools was avoided and as not only the foreign community, but also many Chileans were then anxious to give their children an education in English, the school began to prosper and became self-supporting for the first time¹⁰. Everybody in the mission was now satisfied with the spiritual climate in the school¹¹. Chapel exercises were conducted daily and later annual evangelistic campaigns were held. Nevertheless in 1924 the mission had to report that "the Institutio Inglés has not made a very considerable contribution to the evangelization of Chile. A few outstanding leaders of the church have been educated in it, but these men were Evangelicals before they entered the institution"¹². The conclusion can only be that Christen's lack of aggressive evangelistic methods was not the cause of the failure of the school to achieve the spiritual results expected of it.

Furthermore after 1913 the entrance of boarding pupils started falling off. In 1921 it was published in the annual catalogue for the first time that the school was run under the auspices of the Presbyterian church. "Some parents refused to entrust their children to us when they learned this"¹³. The result was that the applications for entrance fell off even more and there were once again considerable deficits. It is inconceivable that the parents of the children did not know of the evangelistic activities in the school. The only satisfactory explanation is, then, that the parents had no objection to their children being exposed to Protestant ideas, but no wish at all for them to become members of a Protestant church. James Thomson would have been quite at home in such a situation, but the mission in 1924 was perplexed. They admitted that the task of breaking down prejudice against the Evangelical cause had been completed. They looked toward a future when the school would serve the evangelical community, and in the meanwhile they regarded it as an evangelizing agency among a class of people they did not otherwise reach¹⁴.

It was recommended that the Board should not expect the school to be self-supporting, the programme was switched back to Spanish, special efforts were to be made to link school and church more closely and the buildings put up in 1894 were to be replaced by better ones¹⁵. All these things had been tried before, and the results were the same. The Board

⁹ Lowe's letter to Speer dated April 17, 1898. P.M.

¹⁰ Speer, *Op. Cit.* pp. 72 f.

¹¹ Allis' letter to Speer dated July 5, 1898. P.M.

¹² Outline Statement on Chile Mission, 1924. p. 24.

¹³ *Idem.* pp. 24 f.

¹⁴ *Idem.* p. 30.

¹⁵ *Idem.* pp. 31-33.

deputation to Chile in 1939 reported that less than twenty graduates of the Instituto Inglés were then still members of the Presbyterian church in Chile¹⁶. This deputation also pointed to two disturbing developments. First, "that the Evangelical families of means in Santiago are all outspoken critics of the Instituto as failing to supply the kind of education their own children need"¹⁷ and second that "It is difficult for the national pastors living in dire poverty, to see these magnificent dormitories which are the result of gifts from America, while their own demands for additional funds for their own support are continually refused"¹⁸. It must be added that the pastors were not only thinking of what they could do with all that money, but of what the church could do with it. Instead of the Instituto becoming more closely linked to the church, the gap between it and both the members and the pastors of the church was widening.

Bitterness increased until "in 1948, upon request of the Chile mission the Board in New York authorized the closing of the Instituto Inglés and the sale of the property worth about 250,000 U.S. dollars"¹⁹. But because the Chilean church had not been properly consulted beforehand, the right of the Board to close the school was contested in the Presbytery held in January 1950, and a lawsuit was threatened to claim the proceeds of the sale²⁰. Another board deputation went to Chile, this time by air. After a week of meetings the deputation recorded that "it was surprising to discover that the majority (of the Chileans) regretted the closing of the Instituto Inglés and particularly the sale of the property"²¹. The members of the deputation felt that this demonstrated that the Chileans were unreasonable. Unfortunately they failed to understand that the real trouble did not lie in the Instituto, but in the unconscious discrimination which led the Board to assume that, if the foreign missionaries could not make a success of the school, then neither could the Chileans. As far as the money was concerned the board deputation argued that the erection of the school building in 1929 and 1930 had been made possible by gifts specially earmarked for education, and that the proceeds from the sale of this building had, therefore, again to be used for educational purposes²². The Chileans argued back that the school had always been declared to be an instrument for the building up of the Chilean church, and that the monies from the sale should be used for that church. Eventually a compromise was reached in

¹⁶ Report of deputation to Chile Aug/Sept. 1939. Paper in possession of John Sinclair in N.Y. p. 11.

¹⁷ Idem. p. 5.

¹⁸ Idem. p. 11.

¹⁹ The Presbyterian Church in Chile. Report by Stanley Rycroft, 1962. Paper in Rycroft's possession in N.Y.

²⁰ Report of Deputation to Chile in 1950. Paper in Rycroft's possession in N.Y.

²¹ Idem.

²² The Presbyterian Church in Chile. Report by Stanley Rycroft, 1962.

which the sum that corresponded to the increase in capital value of the Instituto property was devoted to projects connected with the church, such as Bible schools, the building of churches and manses, and the setting up of a pension scheme for retired pastors, while the rest of the money was devoted to educational enterprises such as parochial schools, and student centres ²³.

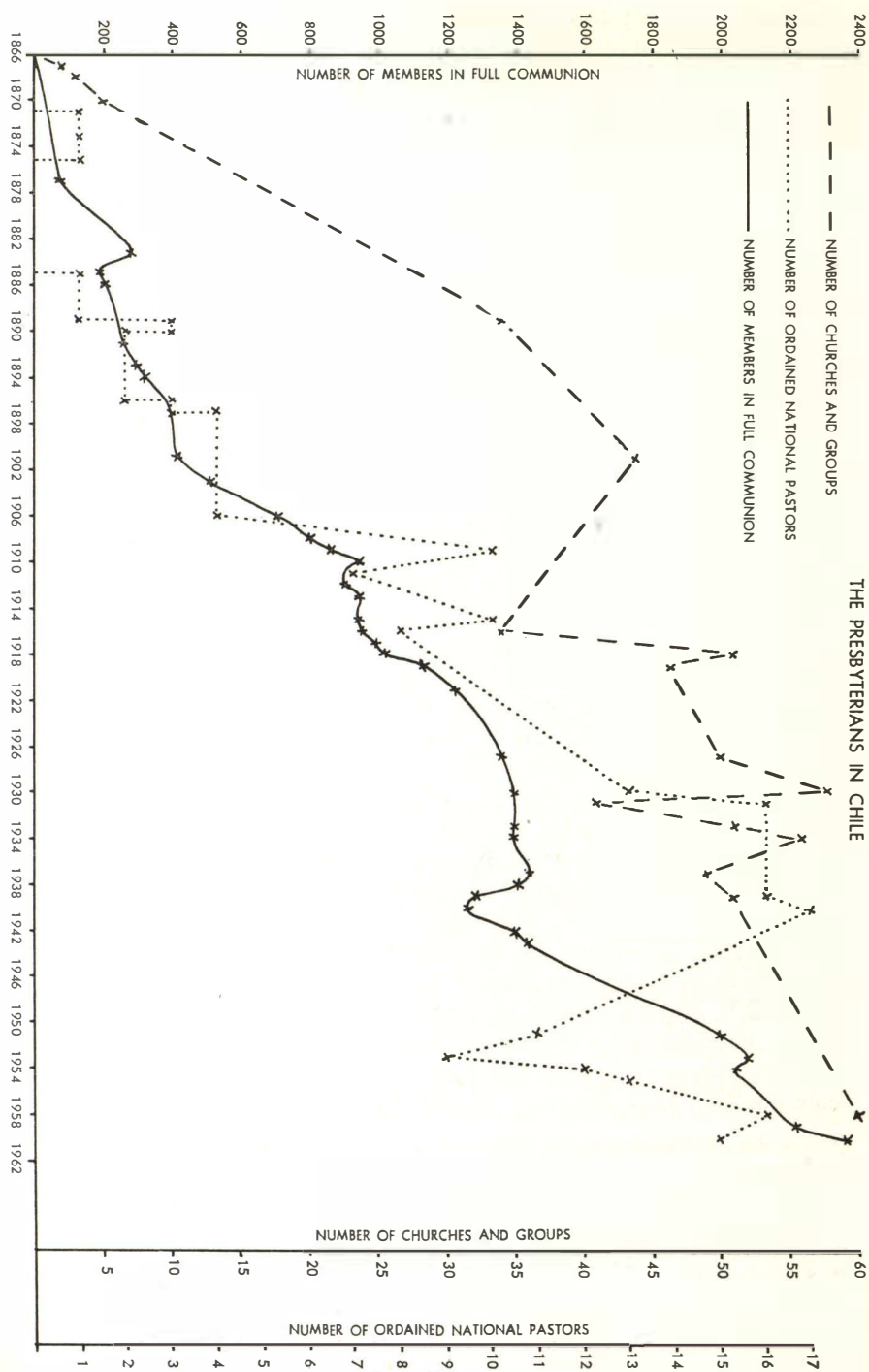
In the avalanche of reports, letters and criticisms about the Instituto, no one called in question the assumption that the school was a recruiting agency for the Presbyterian church and its ministry. Had this assumption really been called in doubt, the Board in New York might perhaps no longer have felt free to use mission money for its support and the Chilean pastors would certainly have demanded an end to financial support by the mission. This would have had the effect of making the Chileans decide whether they wanted a school at all and, if so, how it should be run. Either the Chileans would have supported it themselves, or the school would have been closed. Alternatively funds could have been raised in the United States to run it on a neutral basis. Whatever the result, it would have been better than what happened during the attempts of the Presbyterian mission to hold on to the Instituto.

When Christen started the school in Copiapó, Chilean families supported his venture enthusiastically, and all the support except for Christen's salary was found locally. The same was true during the first few years in Santiago when the school functioned as a private enterprise. As will appear later, there is good reason to believe that the socially better situated Chileans really wanted a school run on the basis of Protestant concepts and values, and that they would have been prepared to pay for it, provided that it was not a proselitizing agency for the Protestant church. It was not the connection between church and school that was a problem, but the attempt to connect the school with one section of the church to the exclusion of others. A school which was integrated with the whole church would have provided a service to the nation and could have stimulated inner reform in the Roman Catholic church in a far more effective way than was possible in James Thomson's time.

The mission's insistence on making the school an instrument for its own ends, antagonized first the non-Protestant Chileans, then the Protestant Chileans, and ended by ruining the school. Furthermore this insistence was entirely self-defeating, because in spite of repeated changes of policy and of leadership the school never at any time made a significant contribution to the building up of the Presbyterian church in Chile. Proselytism is to-day admitted to be a danger to inter-church relations ²⁴, but in this case the harm done was to the Presbyterian

²³ Report of Deputation to Chile in 1950.

²⁴ J. A. Hebly, *Het Proselitisme. Verkenning van een oecumenisch vraagstuk*. Thesis, Utrecht university. The Hague 1962. p. 17.



church itself. Apart from the time and the money, which might have been more profitably spent in other ways, the constant preoccupation with the school in Santiago, served to turn the attention both of the mission and of the national church away from the world around them and in upon themselves.

b. The continuing struggle to build up a national ministry

In 1886 John Allis saw that the need was to reach out and form a widespread net of groups in the country²⁵, but at first little was done in this direction. In 1895 Robert Speer, the mission secretary in New York, had to warn that the "paternalistic care" being lavished upon the mission helpers would never produce the vigour and independence needed for such a development²⁶. In the following year, in accordance with John Nevius' experiences as a missionary in China²⁷, the mission started to develop a voluntary ministry trained in regional Bible schools²⁸. In 1899 the old system by which candidates for the full-time ministry were concentrated in Santiago and given an intensive education there, was largely abandoned in favour of a system by which they studied and preached at the same time²⁹. By 1904 a missionary could write: "There is a stronger and better force of native helpers in our mission to-day than ever there was, . . . more work is being done and being done contentedly. We have training classes for evangelists in Talca, Valparaíso, Copiapó and Tocopilla. We have the principal centres of Chile occupied and by working out our present plan of native unpaid evangelists the work will be done"³⁰.

In the first few years the new policy did indeed give reason for encouragement. Although by 1901 the trained leadership was still weak, 37 outstations had been established around the six main stations, and a force of 34 Chilean assistants had been built up, apart from the ordained and licensed preachers³¹. The expected extension of these groups did not, however, take place. In the period from 1901 to 1916 the number of ordained nationals rose from 4 to 8³² and of assistants from 34 to about 50³³, but the number of churches and groups fell back from 43 to 34. Centralization was then once again adopted as the right policy³⁴, and this change was accelerated by the reaction against all forms of emotionalism after the start of the Pentecostal movement in 1909.

²⁵ *The Record*, Valpo. Aug. 12, 1886.

²⁶ Boomer's letter to Speer dated April 13, 1895. P.M.

²⁷ John L. Nevius, *The Planting and Development of missionary churches*. Pusan 1958⁴. pp. 22 and 40 especially. (This book first appeared as a series of articles in *The Chinese Recorder* in 1885.)

²⁸ Allis' letter to Labaree (Speer's assistant) dated July 14, 1896. P.M.

²⁹ Schmalhorst's letter to Speer dated April 20, 1904. P.M.

³⁰ *Idem*.

³¹ B.F.M.P. May 1901, *Report*.

³² B.F.M.P. May 1916, *Report*.

³³ B.F.M.P. May 1917, *Report*.

³⁴ Speer, *Op. Cit.* p. 78.

Groups away from the intellectual centres need a certain degree of emotionalism if they are to survive, and the reaction which followed the events of 1909 aided the swing back to centralization by causing the outlying groups to wither and in some cases to die. The other effect of this reaction was to draw the Methodist and Presbyterian churches in Chile much closer together, with the result that centralized projects that they might have hesitated to start separately, were soon under way on a union basis.

In 1914 a union bookstore called *El Sembrador* (the Sower), a union paper called *El Heraldo Cristiano* (The Christian Herald) and a union seminary were all started in Santiago³⁵. These joint ventures did not fare better than the separate enterprises that had preceded them, and this was specially true of the union seminary. When it opened the Presbyterians were able to supply only two students³⁶, and the following year this was reduced to only one. The fact that eight other students were then studying in different parts of the field under the direction of missionaries³⁷, shows that there was still considerable opposition to the new policy of centralized training. But by 1920 the seminary had apparently established confidence. It then had seven Presbyterian students and no mention is made of others studying under the personal direction of missionaries³⁸.

Up to this time it was the unwillingness of young people to give themselves which had formed the bottleneck in the development of a trained ministry. Apart from the natural hesitancy of young people to give themselves to a career which was badly paid and full of uncertainties, the Presbyterians were confronted with special difficulties in this respect because they addressed themselves mainly to the socially better situated classes. These people had been strongly influenced by South American liberalism and experienced real difficulty in committing themselves to something so apparently restricting as the Christian ministry. This problem was less acute among the lower classes where liberal influence was less prevalent. With the rise of a new middle class in Chile, composed mostly of people who had come up from the lower classes, the chances of finding suitable candidates who would be willing to give themselves to the Presbyterian ministry increased considerably.

Now, however, a new bottleneck started to show itself, which had nothing to do with the social conditions outside the church, but with problems inside it. In 1925 the number of Presbyterian students at the seminary dropped to two³⁹, and although there was a temporary increase to five in 1927⁴⁰, numbers after that became so small that in the 1930's the seminary was closed and the building specially erected for it

³⁵ B.F.M.P. May 1915 and 1923, *Reports*.

³⁶ B.F.M.P. May 1915, *Report*.

³⁷ B.F.M.P. May 1916, *Report*.

³⁸ B.F.M.P. May 1921, *Report*.

³⁹ B.F.M.P. May 1926, *Report*.

⁴⁰ B.F.M.P. May 1928, *Report*.

in 1924 let out for other purposes ⁴¹. Candidates were then sent to the union seminary in Buenos Aires, but in 1946 only one Presbyterian student from Chile was studying there ⁴². The 1926 report explains that "this scarcity of students is due in part to the fact that very few candidates have presented themselves during the last few years, but for the most part to the fact that because of the lack of funds for their support, the Presbytery has been unwilling to admit new students to the seminary" ⁴³. The immediate difficulty was a financial one, but behind this problem lay other deeper ones.

The effect of this new bottleneck on the supply of trained pastors was severe, although the full effect took over twenty years to manifest itself. The number of ordained national pastors reached sixteen in 1933 ⁴⁴, touched seventeen in 1940 ⁴⁵, and then slipped right back to nine in 1952 ⁴⁶. The result was that after 1946 missionaries had to be relied upon to fill the gap ⁴⁷, and more recently four Brazilian pastors have had to be imported ⁴⁸. Since 1950 the number of candidates for the ministry has risen, so that by 1957 the Presbyterians again had sixteen ordained pastors in Chile, but this number was still quite inadequate for their 25 organized churches and 35 groups ⁴⁹. In 1964 steps were taken to establish a theological community in Santiago. Several denominations are co-operating in this project and in future it will not be necessary to train candidates abroad except in special cases, but it must not be supposed that a new type of training will by itself solve the problem of raising up an adequate ministry. In the early days when Allis attached the seminary to the Instituto Internacional, the resultant social inequalities harmed the training given, but this mistake has not been repeated. Since then the basic problem of the ministry has not lain in the training programme but in the churches and in their relationships both with the mission and with the world around them.

c. Church – mission relationships

"The question of a fair standard of payment of national workers came before the Board thirteen times between 1902 and 1914 because of fluctuating exchange. In 1924 the situation of the national workers was desperate" ⁵⁰. In the ten preceding years the cost of living in Chile had

⁴¹ Report of Deputation to Chile Aug/Sept. 1939. p. 10.

⁴² B.F.M.P. May 1947, *Report*.

⁴³ B.F.M.P. May 1926, *Report*.

⁴⁴ B.F.M.P. May 1934, *Report*.

⁴⁵ The Presbyterian Church in Chile. Report by Stanley Rycroft, 1962.

⁴⁶ B.F.M.P. May 1953, *Report*.

⁴⁷ B.F.M.P. May 1947, *Report*.

⁴⁸ Information given by Rycroft to the writer in Oct. 1964.

⁴⁹ B.F.M.P. May 1958, *Report*.

⁵⁰ Outline Statement on the Chile Mission, 1924. Paper in John Sinclair's possession in N.Y.

increased by 79 %⁵¹, and while the missionaries were unaffected because their salaries were fixed in United States dollars, the full brunt was felt by the national workers who were paid by the mission in Chilean pesos. As in Vidaurre's time this discrimination produced a strong nationalistic feeling⁵². Now, however, it was the Board in New York which formed the chief obstacle to a solution, because, although the missionaries pleaded that the salaries of the national workers be raised, the Board insisted that they be kept as low as possible so that the churches could become self-supporting at the earliest date⁵³.

The Board assumed that the giving of the Chilean congregations was determined by the financial need of the pastors, and that if the mission in effect guaranteed the position of the national workers by fixing their salaries in dollars, the believers in Chile would no longer feel an urgent obligation to do their best. No doubt this assumption is valid in a North American context, probably it applies in a European context, but it is often not true in the South American situation. It is quite possible that the fixing of the national workers' salaries in dollars would have made no difference to the Chilean giving, and it certainly would have accelerated the development of a native ministry.

In 1925 a board deputation visited Chile and afterwards, together with Robert Speer, produced a very extensive report⁵⁴. The three burning questions they encountered in Chile were the need to adjust the national workers' pay, the need to give these workers more control over the affairs of the church, and the need of itineration in the outlying districts⁵⁵. Their solution was to take the control of the church away from the mission and hand it to the Presbytery, to grant the Presbytery a subsidy of 100,000 pesos a year, which would be reduced by 10 % each succeeding year, and to make the Presbytery responsible for the pay of the national workers. The mission was to administer the seminary and the other institutions and to undertake new evangelistic work in co-operation with the Presbytery. This section of the report ends with these words:

"It is a stern, but an evident truth that the success or failure of the new plan depends not on the Chileans, but on the missionaries . . . If the Chilean pastors see that the missionaries are not doing anything more than before, or that they are so occupied in other things that they have no time for new evangelistic work, they will not feel the need of activity on their part. But if they can see in the missionaries an example of interest, enthusiasm and successful methods, they too will be carried along by the current of new life"⁵⁶.

⁵¹ Idem.

⁵² Idem. p. 13.

⁵³ Idem; Report of Deputation to Chile Aug/Sept. 1939. pp. 7-8 and 13.

⁵⁴ W. Reginald Wheeler, *Modern Missions in Chile and Brazil*. Philadelphia 1926.

⁵⁵ Idem. p. 81.

⁵⁶ Idem. p. 89.

There is no indication that this plan helped to reduce tensions between missionaries and nationals; if anything, it made them worse. It was not so much the control of the church that the Chileans wanted as an end to discrimination and this plan accentuated the difference between them because missionaries and nationals were now paid from two quite separate sources, they were responsible to two different bodies and were working to two separate objectives. Neither did the plan achieve its other goal of promoting self-support. By 1937 the mission subsidy to the Presbytery had only been reduced to 50,000 pesos, and finances were then so precarious that the mission asked the Board in 1938 not to reduce the subsidy any further⁵⁷. The plan also produced some very undesirable side-effects. It widened the gap between the mission and the Presbytery and in consequence that between the training programme for pastors and the churches they were to serve. As noted in the previous section one of the first actions of the Presbytery was to block the intake of new students into the seminary. An increase in the number of pastors would mean that the fixed mission subsidy would have to be divided among a greater number.

This plan with its emphasis on self-support turned the national church even more in upon itself, and all expansion either in numbers, extension or ministry came to a stop⁵⁸. The national church was relieved of its responsibility for evangelism and given the task of building up the work that had already been established, while the mission was liberated of its preoccupation with church affairs and assigned the task of doing new evangelistic work. Inevitably two concepts of evangelism developed. For the Chileans evangelism came to mean finding new members for their church, whereas for the mission evangelization tended to become the propagation of Christian teachings with too little concern for commitment to the visible church.

In 1930 the number of missionaries reached an all-time high of 31⁵⁹, yet apart from a small increase in the number of groups and one reference to the fact that missionaries had entered several unexplored fields⁶⁰, there seems to have been only a feeble evangelistic outreach to new areas. Instead the mission considerably increased its institutional work in the established centres. In 1926 a hostel was opened for university girls in Santiago⁶¹ and in the same year the maternity dispensary, which had been started there in 1923⁶², was expanded into a maternity hospital⁶³. These institutions made little contribution to the growth of the Presbyterian church in Chile, and did not fulfil the expectations which

⁵⁷ Report of Deputation to Chile. Aug/Sept. 1939. p. 7.

⁵⁸ Idem. pp. 6 f.

⁵⁹ The Presbyterian Church in Chile. Report by Rycroft, 1962.

⁶⁰ B.F.M.P. May 1930, *Report*.

⁶¹ B.F.M.P. May 1940, *Report*.

⁶² B.F.M.P. May 1942, *Report*.

⁶³ The Presbyterian Church in Chile. Report by Rycroft.

had been fostered among the members of that church as a result of the 1925 plan.

As the number of missionaries on the field gradually declined after 1930 the tendency to concentrate on these institutional projects became more and more marked. By 1939 one quarter of the missionary force was assigned to the Instituto Inglés alone⁶⁴. Yet it could hardly be called an evangelistic centre even on the basis of the mission's concept of evangelism. The board deputation in 1939 reported that the hostel for university girls "provides a helpful and happy place in which university young people can live; a home where these young women come under the influence of a beautiful Christian character. But the fact remains that most of these young women are Roman Catholics or atheists and that very little direct evangelization can be attempted in such an institution if it shall continue to exist"⁶⁵. Yet this institution was established in 1926 when the mission was supposed to inspire the church with an example of a new evangelistic work. Furthermore the fact that evangelism had to be severely restricted so as to insure the survival of an institution established for evangelistic work, was a clear admission that even on the basis of its own understanding, the mission had failed in its task.

In reference to the evangelistic assignment given to the mission in 1925, the board deputation reported in 1939 that "true to the purpose of the plan, the mission devoted itself to other forms of Christian endeavour, dispensaries, social service centres and educational enterprises. The missionaries, fearful of causing the wrong impression by volunteering their services in church enterprises, waited for invitations from the national brethren. Instances can be cited where actual rebuff met the offer of co-operation in preaching services, training of catechumen classes and evangelistic efforts"⁶⁶. The essential point of the 1925 plan was, however, that the missionaries should take the initiative in new evangelistic work, and not try to help the nationals in work that was already established. The Chilean pastors regarded evangelistic services held in the churches as part of their normal established work, and could only see in the offers of the missionaries an attempt to intrude into other people's work. That the missionaries and the board deputation could so misunderstand the purpose of the 1925 decision is an indication that to them evangelism meant something different from what it did to the framers of the 1925 policy.

The mind behind the 1925 plan was that of Robert Speer⁶⁷, who had been secretary to the board in New York from 1892 to 1909. The missionaries in Chile corresponded with him on such subjects as the baptism

⁶⁴ Report of Deputation to Chile. Aug/Sept. 1939. p. 14.

⁶⁵ Idem. p. 12.

⁶⁶ Idem. p. 6.

⁶⁷ Wheeler, Op. Cit. p. 85.

of the Spirit ⁶⁸, the revival in Wales ⁶⁹, and the need of revival among the missionaries themselves ⁷⁰. Unfortunately Speer's answers are missing, but it is clear from the way that some of the missionaries wrote to him that he was an Evangelical of the old stamp for whom evangelism meant confronting people with the Person of the living Christ. Such evangelism is possible even where modes of thinking and living differ widely. To the Presbyterian missionaries in Chile at this time, evangelism had rather come to mean convincing people of certain vital Christian truths, and this is only possible if a fairly wide ideological agreement has already been established. In Chile these missionaries found themselves among a people who thought very differently from themselves. A section of the middle class was already being influenced by communistic ideas. So, in the hope of laying the basis needed for their concept of evangelism, they dedicated themselves to institutional work, only to find that evangelism endangered the survival of these institutions. Instead of sacrificing the institutions for the sake of evangelization, they sacrificed evangelization for the sake of the institutions. These institutions provided a real service to the community and their continuance could have been justified if only the missionaries had admitted that they were not fulfilling their share of the 1925 plan.

When the board deputation visited Chile in 1939 church-mission relationships had not improved at all. The deputation reported that "it is nine years since any reinforcements came out. The unpleasantness on the part of the nationals when the possibility of new missionaries is mentioned, was given as the reason for not pushing the matter" ⁷¹. The complaint of the nationals against the missionaries was that there was "far too much emphasis put on the institutions of the mission" ⁷² and that "even the missionaries assigned to evangelistic work were not helping them as they desired" ⁷³. Instead of recognizing the justice of this complaint, the 1939 report suggests that the national pastors were trying to lay the responsibility for their own insufficiency on the shoulders of others ⁷⁴. A confidential report two years later repeats this charge against the nationals much more forcibly: "One fact seems to underlie the work in Chile, not only of the Presbyterian mission, but also of the Methodist and to a certain extent the Baptist, is that native leadership has broken down . . . It is one thing to fail. It is another to recognize failure. This is what the Chilean nationals are not willing to

⁶⁸ Boomer's letter to Speer dated Aug. 14, 1896. P.M.

⁶⁹ Elphick's letter to Speer dated Aug. 23, 1905. P.M.

⁷⁰ Boomer's letter to Speer dated Mar. 30, 1906; Florence Smith's letter to Speer dated Jan. 22, 1906. P.M.

⁷¹ Report of Deputation to Chile. Aug/Sept. 1939. p. 13.

⁷² Idem. p. 11.

⁷³ Idem. p. 14.

⁷⁴ Idem. p. 6.

do. They still feel somehow that the missionaries are to blame for the difficulties and for the decline of the churches" ⁷⁵.

It is never easy to apportion blame for an unsatisfactory church development but in the case of the Presbyterian church in Chile it would seem that the fault lay more with the missionaries than with the national leaders. Vidaurre was alienated by the missionaries' inability to deny themselves in financial matters, Canut was disillusioned by their disputes, Elphick left because they would neither accept the Methodist doctrine of sanctification nor present a satisfactory alternative of their own, and Tulio Moran resigned because they denied him and his congregation sufficient freedom of expression. Perhaps the most serious mistake was the missionaries' failure to recognize that they had not fulfilled the task assigned to them in the 1925 plan. The inability to admit their own failure prevented the missionaries from seeing that the real trouble was that they had not given the Chileans enough freedom and it also hardened the attitude of the Chilean pastors who became equally unwilling to admit their shortcomings.

In September 1948 a new plan was implemented by which "responsibility for the whole programme of evangelistic, educational and medical work was transferred to the Presbytery and the Unión Evangélica, the mission maintaining a separate organization with limited functions, chiefly concerning its own personnel" ⁷⁶. The Unión Evangélica was the holding body for the Presbyterian properties in Chile which had been formed in 1888. Originally it was composed only of missionaries, but after some years nationals also became members. The avowed purpose of the 1948 plan was that responsibility for the church and its properties should pass increasingly into the hands of the nationals, but in 1950 it became plain that the foreigners retained effective control. The nationals were in a majority on the Presbytery, but not on the Board of the Unión Evangélica and as the proceeds of the sale of the Instituto property were held in the name of the latter body ⁷⁷, it was impossible for the funds to be used as the majority of the nationals wished. The Chileans felt that the 1948 plan was a hoax, and as related in the first section of this chapter an explosion of bitter feelings followed.

During the meetings which were held in Santiago to resolve the crisis, the understanding was reached that all missionaries would be withdrawn by 1960 except for certain specialists whose presence and work in Chile had been mutually agreed upon by the Chilean Presbytery and the Board in New York. The departure of the missionaries would automatically leave the nationals in control of the Unión Evangélica, and on this basis the 1948 plan was unanimously re-affirmed ⁷⁸. The future

⁷⁵ Confidential report on Presbyterian work in Chile as seen by W. S. Rycroft during April 1941. Paper in Sinclair's possession in N.Y.

⁷⁶ Chile Plan for church-mission relations 1948. Paper in Sinclair's possession in N.Y.

⁷⁷ John Sinclair's letters to the writer dated April 22 and Nov. 7, 1966.

⁷⁸ Report of Deputation to Chile 1950. Paper in Rycroft's possession. N.Y.

was described as being "bright and hopeful", but the vital question as to whether the Board in New York or the Presbytery in Chile was to wield final authority in the period of transition was left open and "by 1952 the relationship between the missionaries and the Chileans had not improved". No agreement could be reached on how certain projects specified in the 1948 plan were to be executed and when the Presbytery "proposed that Mr. Shaull spend a year in a pastorate in Valparaiso instead of directing the student work in Santiago as had been agreed upon, Mr. Shaull was re-assigned to Brazil"⁷⁹. The board in exasperation decided that missionaries should not return after furlough and the last one left Chile in 1958. Since then four Brazilian and two North American pastors have been supplied as fraternal workers as part of a programme of Presbyterian co-operation in Latin America. The goal of self-support by 1960 was not achieved, but progress is being made. Finally in 1963 the Chile Presbytery respectfully asked the General Assembly for permission to separate from the New York Synod to which it had been attached since 1883, and to become an autonomous Presbyterian church within the World Presbyterian Alliance, and to transfer all records, assets and liabilities to Chile⁸⁰; church-mission relations were no more.

d. The general development of the Presbyterian church in Chile

The accompanying graph of the total church membership, the number of preaching places and the number of ordained native pastors shows that although "as far as Presbyterian work goes, perhaps few countries in the world have been so beset by internal difficulties, problems, misunderstandings and bitterness"⁸¹, the work in Chile has made progress. The troubles referred to above occurred chiefly between the missionaries and the native pastors and led to a shortage of trained workers. In turn this shortage obliged many groups and even churches to appoint lay leaders who naturally were not dependent on the mission either for their training or support. In this way the church continued to make progress in circumstances which would otherwise have been disastrous. This is very evident after 1940 when membership rose comparatively sharply while the number of trained workers was falling steeply. This increase of lay leadership had the effect of making the church more independent of its relationship with the mission and so prepared the way for the termination of this connection in 1963, and the establishment of the autonomous Presbyterian church of Chile in January 1964.

The total membership shows a surprisingly steady growth. In 1906 a missionary wrote: "perhaps we can say that our converts are better instructed and on the whole that a larger percentage is faithful in the

⁷⁹ The Presbyterian Church in Chile. Report by Stanley Rycroft 1962.

⁸⁰ B.F.M.P. May 1963, *Report*. (This is the last of these reports.)

⁸¹ The Presbyterian Church in Chile. Report by Rycroft. 1962.

long run”⁸². Compared with the other Protestant denominations in Chile, the Adventists excepted, this is undoubtedly true. It is significant, therefore, that both the Presbyterians and the Adventists lay more emphasis on the intellectual aspect of faith than is usual in the other denominations. The rate of growth for the Presbyterians is, however, very disappointing. Between 1920 and 1960 the population of Chile doubled, but because of the rapid urbanization, the big centres where the Presbyterians have their work probably quadrupled in size. Although the total membership, therefore, just kept up with the national increase after 1920, the advance did not in any way match the growth of the places in which the Presbyterians were working.

After 1901 the increase in the number of churches and groups has been both slight and irregular. This means that the advance since then has consisted chiefly in the expansion of existing work and that there has been very little evangelistic outreach, either into new areas or into the vast new suburbs that have sprung up around the towns where the Presbyterians were already working. Before 1901 the outposts were maintained chiefly through visits of the missionaries, but in the following period the missionaries started devoting themselves more to institutional work and the national workers were entrusted with the care of the outlying areas. The violent swings in the number of groups after 1901 reflect the vicissitudes of the national ministry. The decision in 1925 to make the missionary the pioneer evangelist once again, did increase the number of groups temporarily, but as pointed out above, the drive was not maintained. When a movement for church renewal started developing among the laity after 1940, the groups became less dependent on visits from outside, and the increase became much steadier.

The graph also shows how little relationship there exists between the number of trained native ministers and the general development of the church. This phenomenon occurs also in a few other churches which have been considered in this thesis and led the leaders of some of the missions working in Peru and Chile to conclude that an ordained ministry was unimportant or even harmful. There is, however, good reason to believe that the fault lay not with the fact of ordination, but with the high intellectual demands which were made by the Presbyterian missionaries before they admitted a national to the ministry. Not only did these demands severely restrict the number of candidates, but they also tended to instil into the minds of those who were ordained a wrong concept of the Gospel they were to preach. As far as the unordained ministry is concerned, it is unfortunate that the statistics are not precise. Some of the reports up to the year 1931 mention the number of native assistants, but most of these were employed in the schools or other institutions, and were not directly connected with the work of the church. After 1931 there are no figures at all. There is, however, good

⁸² Florence Smith's letter to Speer dated Jan. 22, 1906. P.M.

reason to believe that both in the period from 1900 to 1909 and in the years after 1940 the growth of the church was largely due to the efforts of laymen. In 1951 the mission recognized the importance of lay leadership by starting a Bible school in the old school property in Valparaíso⁸³, and by reverting in this way to the training programme it had in 1904.

Further the graph brings to light an unexpected relationship between church growth and church division. The split in 1910, when Tulio Moran left with 100 members, left a clear mark on the graph, but by 1913 nearly all the members had returned, and yet the membership did not start increasing again till three years later. This shows that the stagnation in this period was due to another factor. In 1918 and 1919 there was a painful split in the central church in Santiago⁸⁴, but far from retarding the growth, this division seems if anything to have stimulated it. This effect is still clearer in the division which took place in the years between 1942 and 1946⁸⁵, and which had its origin in the conflicting opinions about a new missionary movement which grew up inside the church under the sponsorship and support of the local churches⁸⁶. The purpose of this movement was to provoke more warmth and evangelistic zeal among the Presbyterians⁸⁷, but the whole issue became confused by charges made on moral grounds, by disputes about fundamentalism, and by a nationalistic reaction against the missionaries. A division followed in which six churches and 900 members seceded to form a national Presbyterian church in Chile⁸⁸. It is a pity that the statistics for the years 1944 to 1950 are missing, so that it cannot be established whether the rapid growth of these years took place before or after the division, but even including the loss of 900 members the main Presbyterian church grew faster during this period than at any other time. The only adequate explanation is that the controversy about the stimulation of evangelistic zeal had the effect of shaking the church out of its preoccupation with its own self-support, and that the resulting gains far outweighed the losses.

The two periods of stagnation in church growth from 1909 to 1916 and from 1925 to 1939 were not marked by divisions or a shortage of trained workers, but by coldness of spirit; in the first period because of a reaction against emotionalism and in the second by a preoccupation

⁸³ B.F.M.P. May 1951 and 1953, *Reports*.

⁸⁴ B.F.M.P. May 1920 and 1921, *Reports*.

⁸⁵ Arturo Ellyeta gives the date of the division as 1942; Ignacio Vergara, *Op. Cit.* p. 129, as 1944 and Rycroft and Sinclair as 1946. (This is but one example of the confusion that surrounds this incident.)

⁸⁶ Samuel E. Araya, *An approach to evangelism in Chile on an ecumenical basis*. Thesis, Union Theological Seminary. N.Y. 1960. p. 43.

⁸⁷ Information given the writer by Ellyeta in Concepción, and Rycroft and Sinclair in N.Y. In spite of other differences, all agree that the schism started originally around the issues raised by this renewal movement.

⁸⁸ Information from Sinclair. Rycroft gives the number of churches involved as seven, but agrees with Sinclair on the number of members.

for own support. The writer believes, therefore, that the disappointing development of the Presbyterian church in Chile can be blamed on a deficient spiritual climate and particularly on the tendency towards an introverted attitude which contrasted so sharply with the atmosphere of the early Protestant activity which paved the way for the start of the Presbyterian work.

David Trumbull achieved his breakthrough in 1863 by presenting the Chilean nation with a new alternative. He rightly considered the warm response from many quarters as a mandate to propagate concepts which were missing in Chilean Catholicism, as widely as possible. Trumbull believed that this could best be achieved if the American and Foreign Christian Union sent more missionaries to Chile. When this society ran into financial difficulties and handed its work over to the Presbyterian church, it is only natural that the mission board of that church should see in this opening a mandate to plant the Presbyterian church in Chile, but they forgot that a mandate to proclaim new spiritual concepts was not by itself a mandate to plant a Protestant church. If instead of immediately organizing Presbyterian churches, the early missionaries had continued Trumbull's general proclamation of the Gospel and had waited for the Chileans to take the initiative in forming churches, several heartaches would have been avoided.

The point is not that schism could have been avoided, but that the decision to make a schism should not have been taken in New York, but in Chile. It would be ridiculous to imagine that this would by itself cure all ills, but as will appear later, churches where the decision to separate has not been influenced from outside and which can truly claim to be Chilean-born are usually neither negatively nationalistic nor introverted in spirit. Because they are Chilean-born, such matters as self-support and adaptation to the local surroundings come to them naturally. With the Presbyterians, not only was the decision to plant the church taken by outsiders, but so were the subsequent decisions connected with the building up of that church. Weber has written that "perhaps the most important thing that an evangelizing church has to learn is how to die"⁸⁹. The mission in Chile found it very hard to die to its economic privileges, to its North American way of life and to its attachment to its own denominational form. The sad thing is that when in 1948 the mission really wanted to start along the Via Dolorosa, the Board in New York would not let it, with the result that death came not as the result of the free action of the mission, but at the request of the Chileans.

To this sombre picture three final comments must be added: firstly that the Presbyterian records are incomparably more complete and better ordered than those of any other church or group which has worked in Peru or Chile, with the possible exception of the Roman

⁸⁹ Johannes A. Hebly, *Op. Cit.* p. 130 quoted from *the Missionary Church East and West*, Lon. 1959. p. 115.

Catholic church. Problems which to a lesser extent troubled other churches as well can, therefore, be brought to a much sharper focus in the history of the Presbyterians; secondly that the Presbyterian missionaries from the United States came from a higher social class than the missionaries of other churches and groups. This undoubtedly made the necessary adjustments more difficult, and thirdly that the record of Presbyterian missions in Brazil, Mexico and to a lesser extent in Venezuela is much brighter. In 1895 Allis wrote in reference to the Nevius plan that the mission in Chile did not see its way clear to applying "the heroic plan of the Mexican mission"⁹⁰. One cannot help speculating that if only the Chilean mission had followed the Mexican example, the results would have been better.

⁹⁰ Allis' letter to Labaree (Speer's assistant) dated July 14, 1896. P.M.

CHAPTER VII

THE METHODISTS IN PERU

a. The expansion of the work under Wood's leadership

Thomas Bond Wood was born in 1844 and at the age of 25 years was appointed to the Methodist work in Mexico. The following year he was transferred to Buenos Aires, and from there to Montevideo in 1877. Finally he moved to Peru in 1891 where he stayed till 1912¹. He was a doctor in theology, possessed considerable eloquence as a speaker, and according to one who was well fitted to judge in this matter, spoke Spanish uncommonly well². From 1879 to 1887 he was superintendent of the Methodist missions in South America and in 1905 he was made superintendent of the North Andes mission of the Methodist church until 1910 when Vernon McCombs took over this post³. Wood was also a 32nd. degree mason⁴, a fact which for a time gave rise to the misunderstanding among a considerable number of Peruvians that Protestants were necessarily Freemasons.

Wood was one of the most successful of the early Methodist missionaries in South America, and as has been pointed out at the end of the third chapter, he left a permanent mark on the Protestant work in Peru. When he arrived, there was but one Protestant church with 126 members and probationers in Peru⁵, whereas when he left the Methodists had established churches in Callao, Chincha Alta and Ica on the coast, and in Cerro de Pasco, Tarma and Huancayo in the central highlands, with a total of 826 members and probationers⁶. He started a ministerial training course in Callao in 1893⁷, which he continued from 1906 onwards in Lima as a theological school, and by 1912 at least four Peruvians had been ordained to the ministry. The most

¹ *Actas de la novena Reunión de la Conferencia Misionera Andina del norte*, 8 de diciembre 1917. Elton Watlington gives the date as 1913.

² John Ritchie, *Apuntes para la historia del movimiento evangélico en el Perú durante el primer siglo*. Manuscript in possession of the E.U.S.A. Lon. (John Ritchie spoke Spanish extremely well himself).

³ *Idem*.

⁴ From a short biographical sketch published after Wood's death in the *Actas de la conferencia misionera andina del norte* either of 1924 or 1925.

⁵ Wenceslao O. Bahamonde, *The Establishment of Evangelical Christianity in Peru 1822-1922*. Thesis Hartford Seminary Foundation May 1952. p. 99.

⁶ *Actas de la cuarta reunión de la conferencia misionera andina del norte*. Callao 18-21 de dic. 1912.

⁷ Bahamonde, *Op. Cit.* p. 118; *Evangelical Christendom*, Organ of the Evangelical Alliance Lon. July 1894. pp. 214 f.

remarkable development, however, was that of schools. Out of the various small schools started under his supervision in Callao, Wood later formed the Callao High School, which with its primary department continues successfully to this day. In 1899 Wood started a commercial school in Lima which was eventually taken over by the government⁸. Later he started a primary school in Lima, followed in 1906 by the Lima High School for girls⁹, which to-day under its new name of Colegio María Alvarado is one of the finest educational institutions in the country. Furthermore under Wood's superintendency a small school was started in Tarma in 1904¹⁰. In 1914 this was moved to Huancayo¹¹, and has been developed into the present-day Colegio Andino, with its secondary school department and hostel for resident students from the outlying areas.

Thomas Wood achieved this expansion in the face of fierce opposition from without and debilitating division from within the Protestant movement. The accession to power in 1895 of a series of conservative "civilista" governments made Protestant work even more difficult than it had been before. Several of the schools in Callao were closed¹², house to house visitation was forbidden, Scriptures were impounded at the customs, and in 1899 during the universal week of prayer Wood was even interrupted in the middle of a sermon and marched off to jail for having held services on every evening of the week¹³. At the same time his difficulties were increased by the arrival in Peru of Protestant groups who, far from co-operating with him, only sought to emphasize their own special tenets. Mention has already been made of the completely unco-operative attitude of Charles Bright. In his report to the conference held in Santiago in 1899, Wood complained of the graduates of Harley College in London who by their insistence that they were not working for any denomination were hindering his efforts to build up the church. He also deplored the effect of the propaganda being carried on by the Christian and Missionary Alliance of New York, by the Evangelical Union of Kansas City, by the Institute of divine healing run by Dowie in Chicago and by the Seventh Day Adventists of Washington.

b. Two weaknesses of Wood's work

To an extent Wood was entitled to complain of these rival activities,

⁸ Bahamonde, Op. Cit. p. 123.

⁹ Methodists in Peru. Paper in possession of the Methodist church in N.Y.

¹⁰ Webster Browning, John Ritchie and Kenneth Grubb, *The West Coast Republics of South America*. Lon. 1930. p. 82.

¹¹ *Actas de la sexta reunión de la conferencia misionera andina del norte*, Callao. 12-16 de nov. 1914.

¹² *Actas de la segunda reunión de la conferencia misionera occidental de Sud-américa de la Iglesia Metodista Episcopal*, Stgo. 15-20 de feb. 1899. p. 30.

¹³ Idem;

See also Bahamonde, Op. Cit. pp. 119-121.

and yet the tragedy is that he did not really try to promote unity. Although it is perfectly clear that Wood did not carry the responsibility for the breach between himself and Bright, yet he certainly did not help matters by writing a paper in 1902 in which it was stated that Bright was a "second Advent immersionist, but holds to the Sunday". This description was incorporated, uncorrected, into a book that was published in 1907¹⁴, and gave the impression to some of Bright's supporters that he had become a Seventh Day Adventist, with the exception of still holding to the Sunday. The result was that some withheld further contributions¹⁵. Although Bright had by this time long since departed from Peru, this unnecessary incident was never forgotten by Ritchie and was one of the many small irritants that served to spoil relationships between the missionaries in Peru.

During his visit to Peru in 1897 in order to organize properly the work which three of the graduates of Harley College in London had started, Harry Guinness, the director of that college, held some revival meetings for the English-speaking population in Callao. J. M. Spangler, the Methodist missionary in Callao, joined in, and in Wood's own words "the whole English-speaking community was convulsed by a revival the like of which had never been known in those parts of the world"¹⁶. Instead of drawing the obvious conclusion from this happening and reorganizing the work in Callao on a union basis, as Trumbull had done so successfully in Valparaiso, Wood allowed the work to go on in its old divided way. A strong reaction against denomination-ism, about which Wood complained two years later as stated above, was the inevitable result. Furthermore Ritchie was convinced that this lack of a union basis was the chief reason why the English-speaking work in Callao never really prospered, and that the nonconformist meetings there had to be discontinued in 1916 for lack of interest¹⁷.

The second failure in Wood's work was that although in many ways he exploited Penzotti's initial breakthrough well, he allowed that intense spirit of self-sacrifice which so characterized the early converts gradually to lapse. During his visit to the United States in 1893 Wood could write that "the work produces workers for its unlimited extension . . . to the poor the Gospel is preached and they of their poverty are supporting and extending it. Two of the schools paid all their expenses last year. The congregations pay all their minor expenses and more"¹⁸. The report to the conference held at the beginning of 1898 mentions the presence of little groups in Trujillo, Paita, Piura and Cajamarca in the

¹⁴ Harlan P. Beach and Others, *Protestant Missions in South-America*. N.Y. 1907. pp. 153 ff.

¹⁵ Ritchie, Op. Cit.

¹⁶ Beach and Others, Op. Cit. pp. 153 ff.

¹⁷ Ritchie, Op. Cit;

Actas de la octava reunión de la conferencia misionera andina del norte. Lima 30 de dic. 1916.

¹⁸ *Evangelical Christendom*, July 1894. pp. 214 f.

north, in Chosica and Matucana in the centre, and Sicuani and Cuzco in the south. All these groups had been formed as a result of the activities of Bible Society colporteurs¹⁹ who had been trained and raised up within the two original churches in Callao and Lima. Nevertheless the report which Wood made to the conference in 1904 stated that no churches had yet been established outside Lima and Callao because of a lack of funds needed to attend to these groups²⁰. Already then professionalism was beginning to stifle the original spontaneity.

c. Wood's successors.

After 1904 Wood did not attend the annual conference in Chile any more and reports of the work are very scarce up to 1910 when the work in Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia and Panama was organized into a separate conference. Nevertheless considerable expansion took place in these years. Knotts established a Methodist school in Tarma in 1904, in 1905 Tomás Guerrero, a preacher from the Argentine, established the work in Huancayo, and in this period the work in and around Cerro de Pasco was started by Vernon McCombs²¹. More and more, however, the evangelistic outreach of the Methodist church in Peru became the specialized activity of certain of the missionaries assisted by a very limited number of well-trained Peruvians²². At the end of 1912 Adolfo Vasquez was appointed to help Wood with the theological seminary in Lima²³, but after Wood's withdrawal from Peru nothing more is heard of this institution. The result was that the number of national ordained pastors climbed to a maximum of six early in 1916²⁴, but had dropped back to only four by 1921²⁵. By 1914 there was a total of 12 churches and 1072 members and probationers²⁶, but by the end of 1918 the total number of members and probationers had dropped right back to 601²⁷.

This decline in membership is partly explained by the fact that in 1916 new rules were made for assessing membership. Non-resident members in full communion were ordered to be dropped from the registers²⁸. Further the 1918 report from the conference in Peru stated that there was no sense in admitting probationers, only to lose them

¹⁹ *Actas de la primera reunión de la conferencia misionera occidental de Sud América de la Iglesia Metodista Episcopal*, Concepción Chile 22-26 de febrero 1898.

²⁰ *Actas* ... Stgo, 18-22 de febrero 1904.

²¹ Ritchie, *Op Cit.*

²² Webster Browning and Others, *Op. Cit.* p. 86.

²³ *Actas de la cuarta reunión de la conferencia misionera andina del norte*, Callao 18-21 de dic. 1912.

²⁴ *Actas de la séptima reunión de la conferencia misionera andina del norte*, Lima 20-24 de enero 1916.

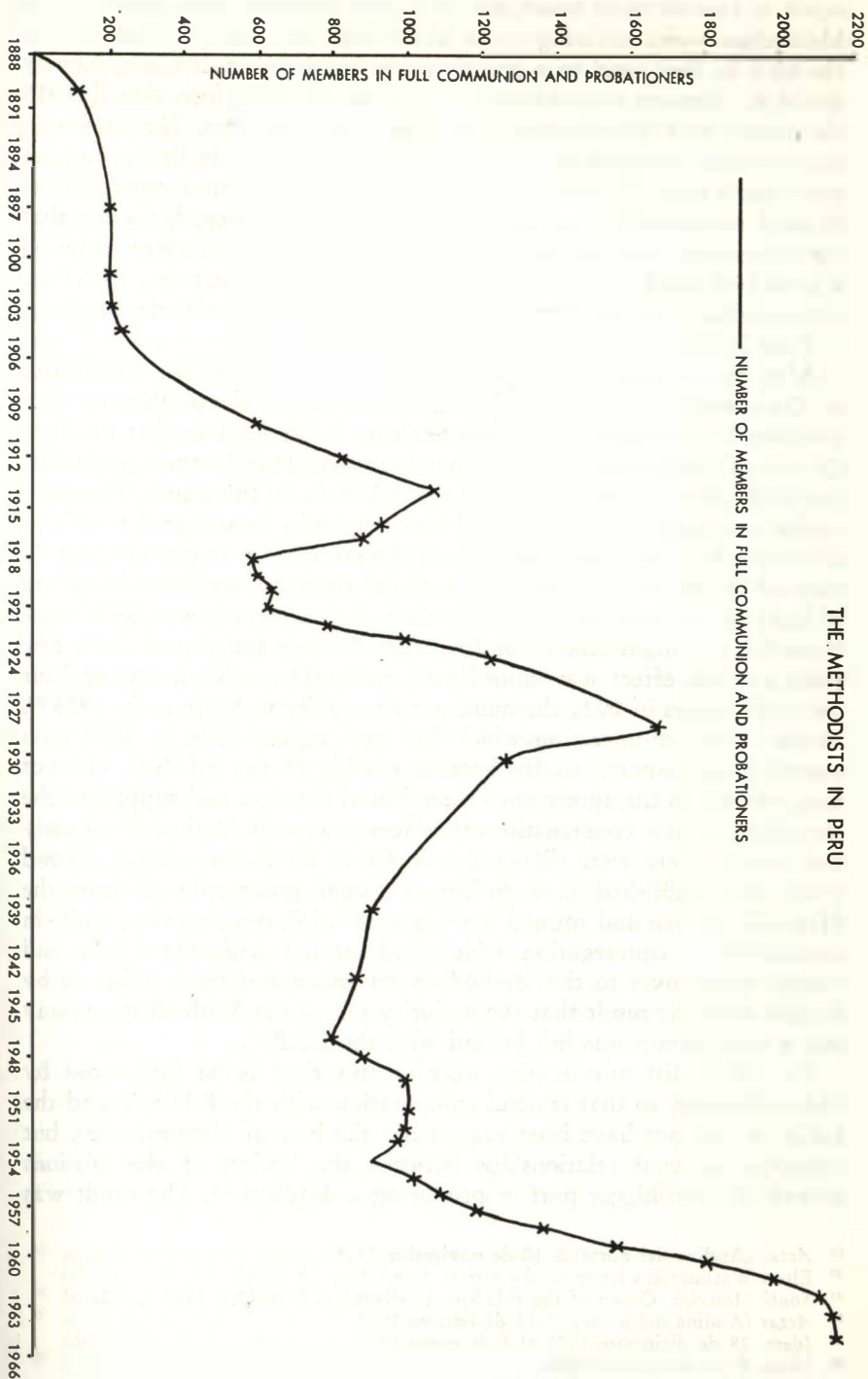
²⁵ *Actas* ... Lima 28 de dic. 1921 - 1 de enero 1922.

²⁶ *Actas* ... Callao 12-16 de noviembre 1914.

²⁷ *Actas* (Andina del norte) 5-10 de noviembre 1918.

²⁸ *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the year 1916*. pp. 391 f.

THE METHODISTS IN PERU



again in two or three years, and a stricter selection was urged ²⁹. The Methodists were suffering from something that has affected all the churches in Peru, and to a lesser extent the churches in Chile, namely the high turnover in membership. It is possible, therefore, that in 1918 the church rolls were further purged of lapsed members. The decline in local income during these years of economic recession in Peru, resulting from the war in Europe, may also have contributed to a retrenchment of local evangelistic ventures ³⁰. Nevertheless these were the years that the Adventists around Puno and the I.E.P. in central Peru were entering a period of rapid growth. The above mentioned factors are, therefore, not a sufficient explanation of the disappointing Methodist development in Peru in the years 1914 to 1921.

After the conference arranged in Panama in 1916 by the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, George Inman visited Peru in May 1917, and recommended that the territory be divided so that the Free Church of Scotland work in the north around Trujillo and Cajamarca, the Methodists in the centre and the E.U.S.A. in the south. The committee on co-operation which had been set up in Peru agreed to this at a meeting held in Lima, and also to Inman's other suggestion that in view of the urgent need of more national pastors a seminary be set up in Lima immediately on a union basis ³¹. This seminary was never established, but a night school for Christian workers functioned for a few years and the effect was immediately noticeable. From a low of four national pastors in 1921 the number rose rapidly to fourteen in 1923 ³². However, the co-operation which had been agreed upon in 1917 soon started falling apart, chiefly because Ritchie of the E.U.S.A. did not keep himself to the agreement on territorial division and supported the formation of new congregations in places where the Methodists already had work. There were difficulties in Cerro de Pasco when a second group was established there. In Tarma a small group split off from the Methodist church and formed itself into an I.E.P. congregation, while in Concepción a congregation which had started with the I.E.P. and wanted to go over to the Methodists was dissuaded from doing so by Ritchie with the result that the majority joined the Methodists anyway and a small group was left behind with the I.E.P. ³³.

The Methodist missionaries were at this time being influenced by liberal theology so that fruitful co-operation with the E.U.S.A. and the F.C.S. would not have been easy under the best of circumstances, but unhappy personal relationships between the leaders of the missions played an even bigger part in producing a deadlock ³⁴. The result was

²⁹ *Actas* (Andina del norte) 5-10 de noviembre 1918.

³⁰ Elton Warlington's letter to the writer dated Aug. 31, 1965.

³¹ *South America*, Organ of the E.U.S.A. published in Lon. Oct. 1917. p. 70.

³² *Actas* (Andina del norte), 9-13 de febrero 1923.

³³ Idem, 28 de diciembre 1921 al 1 de enero 1922.

³⁴ Idem, 8-11 de marzo 1928;

Inman's letter to Speer dated April 7, 1921.

that the union projects suggested by Inman in 1917, either never started or soon came to an end. After the breakdown of the union night school in Lima, the Methodists started a Bible school of their own in 1921, but the spiritual drive which the other denominations could have contributed was missing and this school only functioned for four years. The number of Methodist pastors dwindled from fourteen in 1923 to ten in 1939³⁵, but because in the years immediately after the First World War the number of missionaries increased sharply from five to twenty-five³⁶, church membership also rose from 626 in 1921 to a maximum of 1675 in 1928³⁷. A shortage of workers then made itself felt and membership declined after that to a low point of 809 in 1947. The reason usually given for this is the retrenchment in mission expenditure and staff caused by the great economic depression³⁸. The fact that Methodist missionary income started to decline before the economic depression had started, and that the fall in membership was sharper than the drop in the number of missionaries and much sharper than the drop in the number of national ministers shows that this explanation is not adequate.

This was not an easy time for any of the Protestant churches in Peru, but those churches which placed a greater emphasis on lay ministry maintained themselves much better. The enforced withdrawal of a part of the missionary staff demonstrated how vulnerable were the churches which entrusted the work largely to the hands of paid workers. In the case of the Methodists there was, however, an added factor. Elton Watlington, at present Methodist superintendent in Peru, attributes this decline in the first place to modernism. He points out that the financial retrenchment after 1926, made necessary by a decrease of Methodist missionary giving in the United States, hardly affected the work of the schools, but virtually eliminated those missionaries devoted to evangelistic work. As a result of the change in the theological atmosphere, the emphasis was laid on the need of educating people into the kingdom of God, and in this way the tendency already present in embryo in Wood's work was taken to its logical conclusion. In the 1950's the emphasis was once again placed on the preaching of the Gospel and of the need of a commitment to Christ in order to enter the kingdom of God, and as soon as this new vision had begun to penetrate to the churches, Methodist membership once again rose rapidly.

A glance at the graph of Methodist membership in Peru will show that Watlington's explanation does correspond to the facts. After the Second World War the budget once again began to increase sharply. The number of missionaries increased in Peru, as did the number of

³⁵ *Actas* (Andina del norte), 28 de diciembre 1921 al 1 de enero 1922, y 1-5 de febrero 1939.

³⁶ Inman's letter to Speer dated April 7, 1921.

³⁷ *Actas* (Andina del norte) 3-8 de febrero 1921; Idem, 8-11 de marzo 1928

³⁸ Marion Derby & James Ellis, *Latin American Lands in Focus*. N.Y. 1961. pp. 109 f.

national pastors, and several new projects were undertaken. Nevertheless in the conference held in 1958 it was pointed out that the increase of membership did not correspond to the expectations held of the various projects and activities that had been undertaken. Just about that time, however, the influence of the renewed emphasis on evangelism made itself felt in the churches, especially those around Lima where Methodism has always been strongest. Groups of young people, encouraged and supported by the missionaries among whom Ivan Northdurft deserves special mention, started working out into new areas of the rapidly expanding metropolis. As a result a series of new groups were formed and Methodism in Peru once again expanded rapidly.

After the failure of their Bible school, the Methodists opened the Wolfe Memorial training school in Lima in 1927 with six students³⁹. In 1932 a beautiful new building was provided for this work. Unfortunately the number of candidates became so small, that the institute was soon closed and the building used for other purposes. The few students who did offer themselves were sent for training to the Union Theological Institute in Buenos Aires. In 1958 the Institute was reopened with five students, but after having attracted a reasonable number of students for the first few years, there was only one candidate in 1963 and consequently that year was not run. The Institute continued to function in 1964 although the number of students was not large.

d. Some conclusions

The history of Methodism in Peru has been troubled by only one small division. There were nationalistic feelings among some of the ordained ministers from about 1927 onwards⁴⁰, and in 1939 a complaint was made to the bishop during the annual conference that missionaries were not giving the national pastors their rightful place⁴¹. In 1949 there was considerable feeling against the foreign staff⁴², but in recent years the situation has much improved. The fact that as from 1955 all missionaries engaged in pastoral work are paid on the same footing as nationals, and that the mission has been fully integrated into the Peruvian Methodist church, has certainly helped, and also the fact that in these years Latin American bishops were appointed over the foreign missionaries. By 1959 there were 19 paid national pastors for 32 established churches. Considering the fact that Peru is a harder field for Protestant evangelism than Chile, this achievement compares very favourably with the results obtained by the Presbyterians there. Nevertheless, with the exception of the recent work in the Lima area Methodism in Peru has not lived up to its early promise. The expansion

³⁹ *Actas* (Andina del norte), Lima 8-11 de marzo 1928.

⁴⁰ Watlington's letter to the writer dated Aug. 31, 1965.

⁴¹ *Actas* (Andina del norte), Chíncha Alta 1-5 de febrero 1939.

⁴² *Actas* (Andina del norte), Chíncha Alta 1949.

in the years after 1921 was largely the work of missionaries and of a professional national ministry. This work collapsed as soon as these workers had to be withdrawn. In particular the Methodists have been less successful in rural expansion than the I.E.P. and C.M.A. churches. Generally speaking they are still confined to the centres that they had occupied by 1914.

The recent work in the Lima area resembles that of the early period in that once again, lay participation and a personal commitment to Christ are being emphasized. These two features were very prominent in Penzotti's work and they continued to characterize the period of Wood's superintendency, although Wood himself laid so much emphasis on evangelization by means of an educational programme, that in the course of time there was a tendency to regard teaching as a form of preaching. As teaching in schools can only be done by full-time workers, it was inevitable that preaching also came to be considered as an activity which ought to be remunerated. This idea stifled spontaneous lay preaching among a poverty stricken people, and especially in rural areas most of the Peruvians which the Protestants have reached were in this class. There are two ways of escaping from this dilemma; one can eliminate educational work altogether or organize it on an entirely different basis. As will be seen, Ritchie in central Peru chose the first alternative. The Methodists in Chile, whose history will be considered in the next chapter, followed the second alternative during their early years, but more by accident than by design.

THE METHODISTS IN CHILE UP TO THE TIME OF THE PENTECOSTAL REVIVAL

a. The founding of the William Taylor self-supporting mission in Chile

In 1849, at the time of the gold rush to California, William Taylor passed along the west coast of South America on a journey from Baltimore to San Francisco via Cape Horn. He stayed a few days at Valparaiso and preached one Sunday in Trumbull's church¹. Later he evangelized in Australia, South Africa, Canada and Great Britain and founded self-supporting missions in India, but he could never forget the spiritual need of South America with which he had been so briefly confronted. He therefore approached the mission board of his own M.E. church with the request that they help him in founding self-supporting missions on the west coast of South America where as yet the Methodists had no work. Because Taylor did not agree with the mission board's policy, which he felt provided for too much free help and so undermined the new convert's sense of responsibility, he was unwilling to place the proposed mission under the Board's control. For that reason the bishops of the M.E. church felt that they could not ordain the missionaries Taylor proposed to send out, nor allow them to retain their conference connection in the United States². With or without the bishops' assent Taylor felt compelled to go. He left A. P. Stowell to act as his recruiting agent in the United States during his absence, and together with his brother Archibald set out on October 16, 1877 from New York, on a reconnaissance trip of the coasts of Peru and Chile³.

Taylor's plan, based on his experience in India, was to plant self-supporting churches among the foreigners living in Peru and Chile. Once these churches had become established they would serve as bases from which the rest of the population could be evangelized. As Taylor enjoyed no official backing in the United States, these churches would have to be financially self-supporting from the start. Whereas Julius Christen of the Presbyterian mission had sought to use local manpower for the evangelization of Chile by establishing a boarding school for the

¹ *Practical Anthropology*, K. S. Latourette, The Early Evangelical movement in Latin America. 1958. p. 13;

William Taylor, *Our South-American Cousins*. N.Y. 1880. p. 142.

² Wade Crawford Barclay, *History of Methodist Missions*. N.Y. 1957. III p. 792.

³ *Idem*. p. 796.

training of the young, and Robert Maclean and others of the same mission had tried to train immigrants such as Canut for the ministry, Taylor followed in Trumbull's footsteps by harnessing the strength, especially in financial resources, of the Anglo-Saxon businessmen temporarily living in those countries, for the work of the Gospel. It would, however, not be fair to imagine that Taylor was merely seeking to set up missionary work at other people's expense and not his own. If he demanded unreasonable sacrifices from his workers, he did not spare himself either, and behind the mistakes he undoubtedly made lay a vital conviction.

Shortly after returning from this trip he published a book which contained the following criticism of someone else who had also tried to help in the evangelism of South America: "He did not commit the people here in any way, but committed himself, by a promise of help from a generous people at home" ⁴. Taylor realized, as Thomson had done before him, that evangelism would be fruitless unless those to be evangelized could also be induced to give both of themselves and of their substance.

As related in chapter three, Taylor visited Callao for two months and left his brother behind there. He himself went on to Mollendo, a small port which served as the gateway to Arequipa, to the southern Sierra and to northern Bolivia. The educational facilities in Mollendo were very inadequate and Taylor found that although the foreign residents there were somewhat indifferent to the need of a church, they very much wanted a trained teacher who could start a school for their children. It was here that Taylor began to realize that in certain places he might at first have to be content with starting only a school ⁵. A committee of three was formed to raise funds for the passage of a teacher from the United States, and for the support of the school ⁶. It was also agreed that the teacher should preach to the English-speaking congregation on Sundays ⁷. Taylor then passed on to Tacna, a town a little inland from the coast. Here the foreigners were all Roman Catholics ⁸, but they were very interested in a school provided that nothing be done to proselitize their children. This put Taylor in a dilemma, but that night it was revealed to him in prayer that his task in South America was not so much to plant churches, as he had been able to do in India, but to lay foundations ⁹. There was such an urgent demand for schools that Taylor believed that they would, once established, bring in sufficient funds to support other workers engaged in direct evangelistic work. He therefore agreed to the stipulation that religious creeds were

⁴ Taylor, Op. Cit. p. 142.

⁵ Barclay, Op. Cit. III p. 794.

⁶ Goodsil Arms, *History of the William Taylor Self-supporting Missions in South America*. N.Y. 1921. p. 23.

⁷ Ira H. LaFetra, *The Chile Mission of the M.E. Church*. Stgo. 1894.

⁸ Taylor, *The story of my Life*. N.Y. 1895. p. 673.

⁹ Arms, Op. Cit. p. 25.

not to be interfered with nor taught in the school ¹⁰. Taylor was thus confronted with the fact that if his mission was really to be self-supporting he would have to submit to the authority of those he wished to help.

Taylor journeyed on to Iquique, then still part of Peru, to Antofagasta, then in Bolivia, and to Copiapó, which was at the time an important Chilean mining centre, and at each place he reached agreement for a school in which no religion would be taught, but where, as in Mollendo, the teacher would preach on Sundays. In Coquimbo, a town 230 miles north of Santiago, the request was for a preacher, and in Valparaíso there was an opening for someone to carry on the work among the sailors, which Trumbull had been obliged to lay down because of his innumerable other commitments. In Santiago, Taylor found that an Anglican chaplain had come to minister to the foreign community, and so he passed on to Concepción in the south, where there was interest for a school, but not for a church. After a visit of less than two months to Chile, which also included many preaching engagements, Taylor embarked at Valparaíso for the United States on March 20, 1878. No wonder that a merchant later said that Taylor's visit to the town where he was living in northern Chile, was like the arrival of "an intelligent cyclone" ¹¹.

Taylor's plan had in the meanwhile fired the imagination of many younger people in the United States, and during the year 1878 teachers and preachers were sent to all the places mentioned above. Some committees such as that at Tacna stood by their agreement and sent the necessary passage money to Taylor in New York, but other committees were much less punctual. Just as the party for Concepción were ready to sail, Taylor received a letter from the chairman of the committee there, calling off the whole project because he was afraid it might hurt his business ¹². Taylor realized that to hesitate at this moment would ruin the chances of his whole mission, and so, as he later wrote: "I hurried round and sold books and managed to get enough for steerage passage for my learned and refined people" ¹³. That the Concepción school project succeeded in the end was due in the first place to the heroism of this outgoing party. This incident convinced Taylor that he could not depend wholly on the promises made to him from the field, and so he began at once to solicit funds in the United States to cover future outgoing expenses ¹⁴.

During 1878 work was started at all the places mentioned; in some places such as Tacna and Iquique where the committee stood by their commitments the work began very successfully ¹⁵; in others it was

¹⁰ Taylor, *The story of my Life*. pp. 655 ff.

¹¹ Robert E. Speer, *Missions in South America*. N.Y. 1909. p. 64.

¹² Barclay, *Op. Cit.* III p. 796.

¹³ Taylor, *The story of my Life*. p. 673.

¹⁴ Barclay, *Op. Cit.* III p. 796.

¹⁵ LaFetra, *Op. Cit.*

established only by dint of very great sacrifices on the part of the teachers. Early next year the Pacific war broke out. Commerce was paralyzed and many of the foreigners moved away, with the result that every station to the north of Copiapó had to be closed. Taylor had made no provision at all for workers who might be in difficulties, and some were left destitute, and sickness often added to their problems. The kindness of friends on the spot, among whom Trumbull deserves special mention, saved the situation in several cases, but in others workers returned to the United States utterly discouraged.

This missionary effort also lacked central direction, so that although Taylor tried to do what he could by correspondence, everybody was obliged to improvise¹⁶. Fortunately Ira. H. LaFetra, one of the original pioneers, possessed real gifts of administration and leadership. He had been sent by Taylor to Valparaiso and had succeeded in establishing a successful self-supporting work among the sailors there. When the Jeffreys had to abandon Antofagasta as a result of the war, LaFetra handed the work in Valparaiso over to them and went himself to Santiago, where the Anglican chaplain who had been present at the time of Taylor's visit, had already left¹⁷. LaFetra started Union services in Santiago in 1879¹⁸, and in the following year he co-operated with Fletcher Humphrey, who had been obliged to leave Tacna because of the war, in the opening of a boys' school¹⁹. In September 1882 LaFetra married Adelaide Whitefield, whom Taylor had sent to Santiago to start a girls' department for Humphrey's school. The boys' department was later discontinued, but she continued to direct the girls' side, which has developed steadily and is to-day one of the finest girls' High Schools in Chile.

The first full field conference of missionaries, which was held on January 22, 1880 in Santiago elected LaFetra president²⁰, and in 1885 he was made general agent of the west coast work²¹. Until his retirement from the field in 1906 because of ill health, together with his talented wife he continued to build up the administration and to provide the leadership and cohesion which contributed so much to the success of the Chile Mission²².

b. The start of evangelistic work among the Chileans

In 1883 LaFetra handed the direction of the Union church in San-

¹⁶ Arms, Op. Cit. p. 49.

¹⁷ Idem. pp. 51-52.

¹⁸ Idem. p. 110.

¹⁹ Webster Browning, *The Romance of the Founding of Evangelical Missions in South America*. Manuscript Buenos Aires 1933 now in possession of the Presbyterian mission library. N.Y. p. 94.

²⁰ Barclay, Op. Cit. III p. 810.

²¹ Idem. p. 813.

²² Browning, Op. Cit. pp. 94 f;
Arms, Op. Cit. p. 240.

tiago to Lucius Smith who had started the work in Copiapó, but whose wife had died there of typhus. Smith tried also to start a Spanish service in Santiago, but the meetings were broken up by mobs²³. As pointed out in the fourth chapter, the Presbyterians suffered hardly any violent opposition during the establishment of their Spanish work in Santiago. It is likely that Smith tried to start work in a poorer part of the town, where the people were less cultured and more fanatical, but in 1883 the Presbyterians were also opening up work in new areas of Santiago²⁴, and it is unlikely that they confined themselves entirely to the more prosperous areas, so that this difference in the measure of opposition experienced cannot be entirely explained by the difference in the type of people these two missions tried to reach. Smith then tried to hold Spanish meetings in another part of the town, but did not achieve any permanent results. As Smith felt himself called to Spanish preaching, and as it was clear that he could expect no financial support either from the Spanish work or from the schools which at that time needed every cent for their own development, he asked to be transferred to Mexico and handed the care of the Union congregation over to the Presbyterians²⁵.

Till 1888 the Methodists did not even attempt Spanish work again. Their schools were engaged in a struggle for survival and apart from a successful English service at Coquimbo and two small English meetings, one at Copiapó and the other at Concepción, no direct evangelistic work was done at all²⁶. Trumbull's frank opinion at the beginning of 1888 was that "the Taylor mission as a Gospel agency in Chile is not worth a rap. It has rather brought missions in discredit. It does nothing for preaching the Gospel in Spanish, and in English has only one congregation (Coquimbo) that shows life and permanence"²⁷. The absence of the slightest provision for those in difficulties was certainly no recommendation for the Gospel, and Trumbull's loyal efforts to relieve the suffering so caused, entitled him to criticize this defect in the self-supporting mission. For the rest, Trumbull's estimate of the work may have been correct as to the results achieved up to the time he wrote his letter, but he completely failed to see the potentialities which the self-supporting mission carried within itself. That very year the Methodists started Spanish preaching and within a space of six years built a work equal to that of the Presbyterians, and this was but the prelude to a much more spectacular growth. The Coquimbo English service of which Trumbull entertained such hopes was, however, closed by 1892²⁸.

By the year 1888 the school at Coquimbo and the one at Iquique,

²³ Arms, Op. Cit. p. 101.

²⁴ Arturo Oyarzún, *Reminiscencias históricas de la obra evangélica en Chile*. Valdivia 1921. p. 35.

²⁵ Arms, Op. Cit. p. 141.

²⁶ Allis' report, Sept. 1886. P.M.

²⁷ Trumbull's letter to Gillespie dated Jan. 17, 1888. P.M.

²⁸ Boomer's letter to Speer dated April 6, 1892. P.M.

which had been re-opened after the war, were both sufficiently firmly established to allow some support to be given to preaching in Spanish. Richard John started Spanish services in Serena, a town adjoining Coquimbo, and J. P. Gilliland did the same in Iquique²⁹. In that same year Juan Canut started establishing primary schools in the Santiago area³⁰. After his reincorporation into the Roman Catholic church in 1884 which has been described at the beginning of chapter five, he became disillusioned with Catholicism for the second time, and moved to Santiago, where he came into contact with the Methodists. In February 1890 he went to Coquimbo and Serena as a preacher for the Methodists³¹. In Coquimbo he and his family were attacked by a stone-throwing mob in April of that year³², and he was unable to make much progress, but in Serena he succeeded in establishing a congregation that withstood considerable opposition³³. In 1892 Gilliland took over the congregation in Serena, and Canut accompanied by a Chilean helper visited towns in the area and laid the foundations of a more widespread work in the future³⁴.

The year 1893 was memorable in several ways. The Santiago college was now at last sufficiently established to start contributing towards the Spanish work³⁵, Canut was transferred to Concepción in the south and started to build up a congregation there as well as paying visits to the frontier region still further south. In spite of all his efforts Canut was able to build up only a small congregation in Concepción³⁶, but further to the south he found a great opening. In the same year Willis Hoover who had come to Iquique in 1889 to teach at the school, gave up teaching altogether, in order to concentrate wholly on Spanish work. He started to work in two little towns outside Iquique, where he soon succeeded in forming churches which at once covered many of their own expenses³⁷. As yet the number of Spanish-speaking Methodists in Chile was quite small, but in 1893 their number doubled³⁸.

In April 1894 Canut established himself in Angol in the middle of the new frontier area³⁹. Until a few years previously this region had been largely wooded and was inhabited by a comparatively small number of Araucanian Indians. Blessed as it was with a mild climate, good rainfall and the best agricultural land in Chile, this area was now being rapidly opened up by new colonizers, among whom were many Germans and Scotsmen. Frontier regions naturally present a great op-

²⁹ Arms, *Op. Cit.* pp. 141 ff.

³⁰ Canut's Bible at the Sweet Memorial Institute. Stgo.

³¹ *Idem.*

³² Arms, *Op. Cit.* pp. 141 ff.

³³ *Idem.* p. 148.

³⁴ *Idem.* p. 149.

³⁵ LaFetra, *Op. Cit.*

³⁶ Arms, *Op. Cit.* p. 150.

³⁷ LaFetra, *Op. Cit.* p. 84.

³⁸ *Idem.* p. 88.

³⁹ Minutes of the District Conference of the Chile District. Stgo. Feb. 12-15, 1895.

portunity for evangelism, because the presence of a new environment has the effect of producing in the frontiersman a willingness to re-examine his tenets. In this case the natural tendency was reinforced by the intermingling of various religious and cultural backgrounds. Canut threw himself into this situation with tremendous effect. He even preached in the open air and although there was often violent opposition ⁴⁰, crowds came to listen and he had many converts, among them people of position ⁴¹. Even more important was that Canut immediately drafted many of these converts into the work as lay preachers ⁴².

At this point Canut withdrew for six months of intensive study. No doubt he felt the need of further study and of a more established status for himself in order to train these new preachers and exercise the necessary authority over them. At the end of this period he passed his examinations with flying colours, received ordination and was sent as pastor to Temuco ⁴³, which was becoming the centre of the region. From this base he laboured hard to develop the work and with such success that in 1896, Goodsil Arms, the superintendent of the southern region, could report that the congregations in his area had more than doubled during the year. Looking back Arms wrote: "Perhaps the work of the Methodist itinerant preacher in the new west beyond Ohio, has seldom in these later years been so exemplified in a mission field as on the Chilean frontier where class-leaders, exhorters, local preachers and Sunday school workers were drafted into the work" ⁴⁴. Canut possessed not only a gift for preaching, but had the even more important ability of making others into preachers and pastors ⁴⁵. Thanks to the propaganda campaign directed against him by the priests, his name was by now on everybody's lips, and to this day Protestants are often called "canutos" in Chile. In 1896 in the midst of all his labours Canut developed heart trouble. He went to Santiago for medical treatment, but died on November 9, 1896, at the age of 50 years ⁴⁶.

The year before, a Spaniard called José Torregrosa, who had been converted to Protestantism in Spain and had later emigrated to the Argentine, arrived in Chile at LaFetra's invitation and restarted the evangelistic work in Valparaíso that the Methodists had abandoned after Vidaurre's departure to the Argentine in 1892, as related in chapter five. Torregrosa possessed a remarkable gift for evangelism and within three years he had raised up a congregation of nearly 300 ⁴⁷, which he then handed over to the pastoral care of E. E. Wilson. Torregrosa then went on to Santiago and in three years raised up a congregation of 200 which

⁴⁰ Moisés Torregrosa's information.

⁴¹ Arms, Op. Cit. p. 156.

⁴² Arms, *El Origen del Metodismo y su Implantación en la costa occidental de Sud América*. Stgo. 1923. p. 35.

⁴³ Ignacio Vergara, *El Protestantismo en Chile*. Stgo. 1962³. p. 62.

⁴⁴ Arms, *History of the William Taylor Self-supporting Mission*. p. 163.

⁴⁵ Vergara, Op. Cit. p. 63.

⁴⁶ Canut's Bible, Sweet Memorial Institute. Stgo.

⁴⁷ Oyarzún, Op. Cit. p. 49.

he then entrusted to Cecilio Venegas ⁴⁸, one of Canut's converts from Serena. Torregrosa then went successively to Quillota, Limache and Nogales, where he also established work ⁴⁹. Whereas Canut booked his greatest successes in rural work, Torregrosa excelled in town evangelism. To them both, more than to any other human instrument, goes the credit for laying the solid basis of the growth that followed.

c. The principles on which the self-supporting mission was based

Although Taylor strongly disagreed with the policy of the M. E. mission board, he remained loyal to his church. In 1884 South India elected him lay delegate to the General Conference, and Taylor presented a memorial to this highest assembly of his church "against the ruling of the Board of bishops and the action of the missionary society cutting off ministers from membership in conference, and laymen from membership in the church, when in a foreign land outside the jurisdiction of the missionary society" ⁵⁰. The General Conference not only made Taylor a bishop for Africa, thereby in effect endorsing his missionary policy alongside the existing one, but also changed the discipline so that Methodist churches organized in a territory outside an annual conference or of any regular mission of the church, could be attached to a conference in the United States provided that the bishop of that conference was in agreement ⁵¹. The result was that already in 1886 the groups in Chile started organizing themselves into Methodist churches ⁵², and that in the years from 1893 to 1903 the work in Chile was fully integrated into that of the missionary society. Far from causing a split, thanks to the wise action of the General Conference, the initial disagreement led to unity on a broadened basis.

Unity with the North American church had two beneficial consequences and one adverse one for the Methodist churches in Chile. Firstly, that as the pace of expansion increased the full resources of the M. E. church became available to support the advance. It is doubtful whether the meagre resources of the self-supporting mission would have been adequate to support the full-time workers which became indispensable as soon as the initial breakthrough had been achieved. Secondly, that the church order of the M. E. church was preserved. As later events have shown this church order was well adapted to the needs of Chile. The disadvantage was that whereas the church in Chile, even in the bigger cities, would for many years still be in a frontier situation, the church in the United States from which the younger missionaries would be

⁴⁸ Idem. p. 49;

Arms, *History of the William Taylor Self-supporting Mission*. p. 166.

Arms, *El Origen y la implantación del metodismo*. pp. 51 f.

⁴⁹ *Cuarenta años de lucha. La vida y obra de José Torregrosa*. Stgo. 1921. p. 161.

⁵⁰ Arms, *History of the William Taylor Self-supporting Mission*. pp. 191 f.

⁵¹ Barclay, *Op. Cit.* III. p. 812 f.

⁵² Idem. p. 814.

coming, was emerging from such a situation into that of a more settled society. In Chile even the Presbyterian mission had to admit, at least in one area, that revival methods gave the best results ⁵³, but in the United States there was an increasing reaction in the M. E. church against such methods. The result was that the newer missionaries were faced with a difficult adjustment, and this later proved to be an insuperable obstacle. In the meantime however, the background of the self-supporting mission provided the work in Chile with four advantages.

Firstly, the poverty of the missionaries under the self-supporting plan put them on the same level as the Chileans. Only from the beginning of 1897 did they receive a regular salary ⁵⁴. Even then this characteristic was not entirely effaced, because years later the pay of a Methodist missionary in Chile was still only just over half that of his Presbyterian colleague ⁵⁵. Naturally there was much less discrimination in the pay of a foreign and of a national worker. Added to the fact that national pastors had the same position as foreigners in the annual conference, this explains the absence of any hint of nationalism up to 1909, and this in turn explains in part the success in building up a national ministry, both ordained and lay. Furthermore, because up till 1897 the missionaries had to support themselves, they were in a much better position to encourage the congregations to feel their responsibility right from the start. In 1893 the fledgling church at Huara near Iquique paid all the expenses of their new building ⁵⁶, and the church at Angol next year did the same ⁵⁷. The poverty of the missionaries, coupled with the fact that they mostly came from a lower social class in the United States than their Presbyterian colleagues ⁵⁸, meant that they directed their efforts more to the poor, who although more fanatical, were also much more willing to give themselves to a cause once they had been convinced of its truth. As a result Methodist effort in Chile paid more attention to a class where far greater growth was possible.

Secondly, whereas the Methodists in Peru and the Presbyterians in Chile regarded educational work as a means of expressing the Gospel, the Methodists in Chile, by force of circumstances came to view it as a means of support for a very few people who devoted themselves full-time to evangelism in places or situations where they could otherwise not hope to support themselves, and more generally as a means of support for people who preached the Gospel in their free time. The fact that the teachers were bound by agreement not to give religious instruction in the schools, certainly hindered the effectiveness of the

⁵³ B.F.M.P. May 1900, *Report*.

⁵⁴ *Minutes of the South American District Annual Conference* held at Stgo. Feb. 19-21, 1897. p. 10.

⁵⁵ Outline Statement on the Chile Mission 1924. Paper in Sinclair's possession in N.Y.

⁵⁶ LaFetra, *Op. Cit.* p. 84;

Arms, *History of the William Taylor Self-supporting Mission*. pp. 141 ff.

⁵⁷ *Minutes of the District Conference of the Chile District*. Stgo. Feb. 12-15, 1895.

⁵⁸ Florence Smith's letter to Speer, dated Jan. 22, 1906. P.M.

schools as a gospel agency⁵⁹, but on the other it provided a great stimulus for the idea that preaching was not a professional activity except under those circumstances where self-support would otherwise be impossible. This is undoubtedly one of the reasons why the Methodists in Chile continued to produce a lay ministry even after the church had become sufficiently established to need a full-time ministry.

Thirdly, the self-supporting mission by its very nature was more dependent on the Chileans than the other type of mission. Thus, as Arms pointed out: "the self-supporting plan involved self-government to a larger degree than in mission fields under the Board of Foreign missions"⁶⁰. A greater degree of self-government meant also a greater transfer of authority to the Chileans, and this was another powerful stimulus to the development of a lay ministry. The amazing thing is that this greater transfer of authority to the Chileans did not until 1909 in any way diminish the authority of the mission.

Fourthly, because the self-supporting mission had no official church backing, its missionaries tended to be drawn from the less cultured, revivalist fringe of the Methodist church in the United States. Florence Smith in a letter throws an interesting light on this aspect: "Undoubtedly the Chile mission (Presbyterian) is far and away ahead of the M. E. church in education, culture, sound judgment and wordly wisdom. Personally they are all charming gentlemen, but oh Mr. Speer we do lack warmth of spiritual life and love, or is it that we do not know how to express the warmth and the love we feel. Mr. Hoover, the M. E. missionary in charge of the work here, is a man of one idea. He is not too cultured to call the Chileans brothers. He is narrow, even bigoted, but I believe he can truly say: 'This one thing I do' and 'I count all but loss that I may win the Chileans to Christ'. He is inordinately proud of the remarkable success of their work – to us offensively so! There is a great deal of froth and bombast and other defects it is easy to point out, but the fact remains, the poor have the Gospel preached to them"⁶¹. What appeared to be froth and bombast in Anglo-Saxon eyes was, however, often judged differently by the Chileans, and was also often something really different when placed in the Chilean context. The greater willingness of at least some of the Methodist missionaries in Chile to adapt themselves to the surrounding culture was certainly a factor in the rapid expansion of their work.

d. An examination of the growth of Methodism in Chile

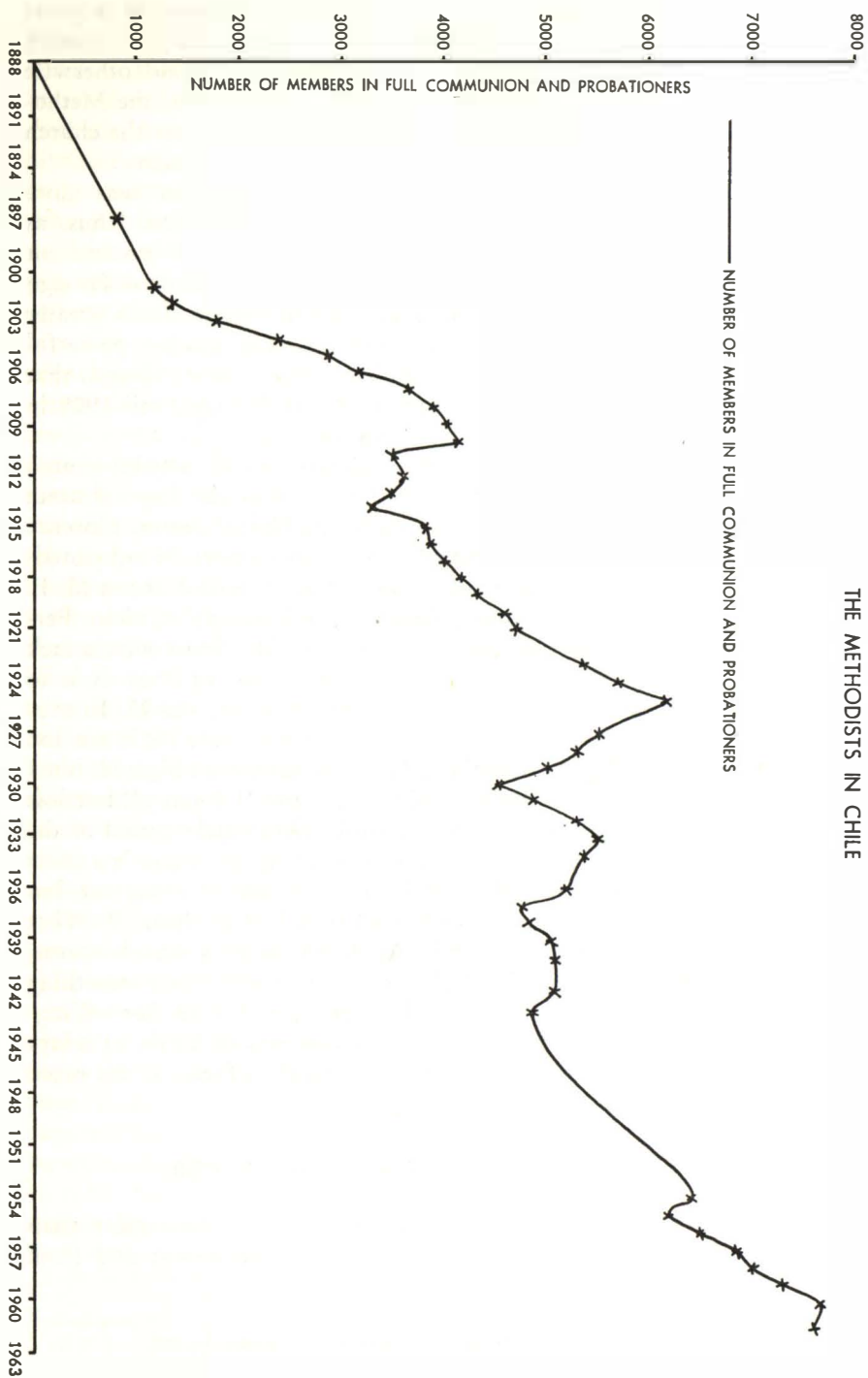
Between 1893 and 1897 the Methodist work in Chile more than doubled in size; between 1897 and 1903 it doubled again; and from

⁵⁹ Barclay, *Op. Cit.* III p. 826.

⁶⁰ Arms, *History of the William Taylor Self-supporting mission.* p. 228.

⁶¹ Florence Smith's letter to Speer written from Valpo and dated Jan. 22, 1906. P.M.

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1903 to 1907 it doubled for a third time. This was no superficial movement, because many of those who were converted in this period later became pillars of the church. That the Methodist growth in Chile in this period was so much more rapid than that of the Presbyterian work, can in part be explained by the fact that the methods of the self-supporting mission tended to minimize the danger of nationalism and encouraged the development of a lay ministry. After the Methodists abandoned the idea of self-support in Chile, these two problems gradually appeared in their work as well. In 1909 they were faced with an anti-missionary spirit and after the withdrawal of the missionaries assigned to evangelistic work around 1925 the full effect of the underdevelopment of the lay ministry became apparent.

When the early Methodist development in Chile is compared with that of the sister church in Peru, it seems at first sight that the early growth in Chile was between $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 4 times as rapid as in Peru. Further examination of the membership graphs shows, however, that the Methodist work in Chile has always been between $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 4 times as big as that in Peru. The greater growth in Chile is, therefore, in the first place due to the greater receptivity to Protestantism which the Chileans have shown at all times, and not to the methods of self-support which were practiced there. The expectations which Taylor and others had of these methods were certainly exaggerated, but it would be wrong to discount these methods altogether as Wood did⁶². Because of local circumstances, an anti-missionary spirit manifested itself much later in Peru than in Chile, and because the work in Peru was so much smaller, the need of a considerable force of national workers was less pressing. The result was that the hindrances, which the self-supporting methods managed to overcome in Chile, did not exist yet in Peru at the time of the early growth.

Provided, therefore, that nationalism can be prevented from becoming an anti-missionary spirit, and that there is no pressing shortage of native workers, the rate of growth of an infant mission church depends on the receptivity of the people to the message preached. This receptivity depends not only on local circumstances, but also on the contents of the message given. The message presented by the Presbyterian church in Chile has varied relatively little through the years. Generally speaking, there has been a reserved attitude towards revivalism and a considerable emphasis on the need of intellectual preparation in order to be able to evangelize⁶³. Consequently the rate of Presbyterian growth, although very slow, is relatively constant. That of the Methodists, however, both in Peru and Chile, shows a rapid rise up

⁶² *Minutes of the South American District Annual Conference*. Stgo. Feb. 19-21, 1897.

⁶³ W. H. Lester's letter to Gillespie dated Sept. 4, 1889. P.M. "Native helpers are not men of sufficient talent to make much impression on this sceptical and critical people". This is one of the most outspoken expressions of an undercurrent present in much of the Presbyterian correspondence.

to 1910 or shortly after, followed by a long period of slow growth or even of stagnation up to the 1950s, and then once again rapid growth. The middle years are precisely those in which Methodism reacted against revivalism and saw the preaching of the Gospel more as an education of the mind than as a committal of the life to Christ. This shows that in a situation where religion tends to be the projection of people's aspirations, committal to Christ must precede the education of the mind.

The three factors of nationalism, lay ministry and a change in doctrinal emphasis, usually occurred together, and this makes it impossible to measure their individual effect on the Methodist development. In Peru, however, the anti-missionary spirit did not manifest itself till the late 1920s and it is interesting to note that the decline in Peru at that time was sharper and more prolonged than it was in Chile, where nationalism had played an important role since 1909. It must be remembered that these three factors are related. A message of committal and self-denial, if sincerely put into practice, will tend to remove from the missionary those things which can provoke nationalism and the same message will encourage the nationals to give themselves to the work of lay ministry. But it is also true that if a nationalistic reaction is provoked by some mistaken action of the mission, or if the work of the lay ministry is hindered in some way, then no amount of sound preaching will effect a remedy.

e. Willis Hoover and the background to the Pentecostal revival

Hoover was born on July 20, 1858 in Freeport, Illinois ⁶⁴. He studied medicine at Chicago at the same time as William Boomer was at a theological seminary there, and the two became good friends ⁶⁵. The work of a doctor did not satisfy Hoover and in 1889 he offered to the William Taylor self-supporting mission and was sent to the Iquique school to teach. He learned to speak Spanish well and soon felt that the schools were becoming an end in themselves, instead of being a spring-board for evangelism. In 1893 he gave himself entirely to Spanish work and started working in two small towns near Iquique ⁶⁶. In 1894 he became pastor of the Spanish-speaking church in Iquique itself, till he went on furlough to the United States in November of that year ⁶⁷. During that furlough he was deeply impressed by the spectacle of a church in Chicago which as he later described it, lived in a constant state of revival ⁶⁸. This impression never left him and the longing for revival became a dominant note in his life.

In April 1895 Alberto Vidaurre, as related in chapter five, returned

⁶⁴ Me. F. N. Y.

⁶⁵ Boomer's letter to Speer, dated Mar. 3, 1903. P.M.

⁶⁶ LaFetra, Op. Cit.

⁶⁷ Me. F. N. Y.

⁶⁸ W. C. Hoover, *Historia del Avivamiento Pentecostal en Chile*. Valpo. 1948. p. 9.

from the Argentine and was put in charge of the work at Iquique. When Hoover returned in September conflict was inevitable, and Vidaurre decided to free himself entirely of the ecclesiastical dominance of foreigners, and taking almost the entire congregation with him, set up a "national" church. Hoover started again from the bottom and within a month or two had formed a new congregation with 28 full members and 7 probationers ⁶⁹. This incident was important because, at a time when the rest of the Methodist mission was quite untroubled by problems of nationalism, it gave Hoover considerable experience on this subject. Hoover's superb handling of the issue of nationalism in 1909 and his colleagues' failure to realize the dangers may well have been due to the fact that Hoover had experienced nationalism at much closer hand than they.

In 1902 Hoover replaced Wilson as pastor of the church in Valparaíso. Although he found the church well-organized and fervent when he arrived, he felt that the members had rather vague ideas on the subject of sanctification ⁷⁰. During a series of studies on the Acts of the Apostles for the teachers of the Sunday school, one of them asked what prevented them from being like the apostolic church. Hoover replied that the only impediment to this lay in themselves ⁷¹. This remark shows that Hoover took Arminianism to its logical conclusion. He emphasized that full participation in God's salvation was a real and practical possibility. In the fatalistic atmosphere present in both Peru and Chile, this was a most important note. But Hoover also insisted that where this full participation was not achieved, it was necessarily the fault of the individual people involved. This was an error which if pressed to its conclusion could only lead to a fevered and neurotic state of mind. Hoover's teaching produced a revival in the church in Valparaíso, but his friend had to write that, although his work was well organized, it was "carried on at such high pressure that many men would not be able to stand it long" ⁷².

In 1903 Hoover bought a plot of land on the street called Olivares, with a view to erecting a much larger church ⁷³. A reaction was, however, inevitable, and in the beginning of 1906 Hoover had to report that the spiritual condition of his church was not so satisfactory. Shortly afterwards the terrible Valparaíso earthquake destroyed both the old church and the buildings standing on the new plot. The only buildings still usable in the town were the low wooden shacks which served as homes for many of the members. The congregation was accordingly divided into a series of groups, each under the care of an exhorter. In February 1907 the mission sent out a large tent which was erected on

⁶⁹ Arms, *History of the William Taylor Self-supporting Mission*. pp. 141 ff.

⁷⁰ Hoover, *Op. Cit.* p. 11.

⁷¹ *Idem.* p. 10.

⁷² Boomer's letter to Speer Mar. 3, 1903. P.M.

⁷³ Arms, *History of...* p. 186.

the new site and served for one year. The discomforts of the tent acted as a powerful stimulus to the congregational giving for a new church, and in February 1908 sufficient money had been collected to start the new building, which was dedicated on March 7, 1909 by Bishop Bristol ⁷⁴. It could seat 1000 people and had been built very largely by the gifts of the congregation itself. It was then the largest Methodist church in Chile and its architectural style has served as a model for many of the Pentecostal churches built since then. This building was to play an important part in the events that followed, but far more important still was the basis of large-scale lay participation both in ministry and giving, which the 1906 earthquake had made necessary.

Hoover's position in the Methodist mission had been strengthened as well as seriously weakened. In 1906 he was made superintendent of the central district of Chile ⁷⁵. He was recognized as the most successful evangelist in the mission, and he had established a close friendship with Goodsil Arms, the mission treasurer in Concepción. Most of Hoover's close friends were, however, among the Chilean preachers. An increasing reaction against revivalism was manifesting itself in the Methodist church in the United States, and this influence was making itself felt through the newer missionaries arriving in Chile. As a result "Hoover was growing year by year away from the brethren (the North American missionaries), feeling that he knew it all, that he and his church were more holy than the others. He was very apt to criticize his brethren in this sense. He was out of harmony with those in the school work and found fault with them in many ways" ⁷⁶. Spiritual pride was undoubtedly one of the causes of this growing estrangement, but unfortunately there were solid grounds for complaint against some of his colleagues.

In December 1908 Stuntz, the mission secretary for Latin America in New York, had written to Bishop Bristol, who was stationed in Buenos Aires and was in charge of the South American conferences, about complaints being made by Rice and Robinson, the missionaries in charge at Santiago, against Arms' administration as mission treasurer ⁷⁷. Early in 1909 a finance committee meeting was called to deal with the matter. Nationals were not yet represented on finance committees, and this made them a convenient instrument for dealing with problems between missionaries. Theoretically finance committees were responsible to the annual conferences where nationals had an equal place, but this responsibility was not always sufficiently upheld and finance committees often degenerated into instruments for dealing behind the nationals' backs ⁷⁸. Shortly afterwards Stuntz wrote to Bristol: "I have a protest

⁷⁴ *Actas de la conferencia misionera occidental de Sud América de la Iglesia Metodista Episcopal*, Temuco 19-23 de febrero 1909.

⁷⁵ *Actas de la conferencia misionera occidental*, febrero 14-19, 1906. Valpo.

⁷⁶ Buell Campbell's letter to Stuntz dated Oct. 31, 1910. Me. F. in N.Y.

⁷⁷ Stuntz's letter to Robinson dated Oct. 22, 1909. Me. L.B. Vol. 155. p. 274.

⁷⁸ Information given the writer by Merayne Coplestone. N.Y.

from Dr. Hoover against the calling of a session of the Finance Committee in which he declares that the call was unauthorized and illegal and, therefore, that the whole session and all its business was illegal. I am inclined to think he is right”⁷⁹. Hoover was anxious to defend his good friend Arms, and was thus sucked into the conflict. Very possibly Hoover also felt that his colleagues were not dealing quite fairly with the Chilean pastors with whom he had such close relations.

The annual conference held that year in Temuco from February 19 to 23 should have provided the opportunity to clear up the trouble. Unfortunately Bishop Bristol, although a great preacher, was a poor administrator. Stuntz wrote of him: “He seems to have adopted Napoleon’s maxim that two thirds of one’s letters answer themselves if they are allowed to remain unopened three months”⁸⁰. What happened at the Temuco conference is not known, but certain it is that the trouble grew worse. In October Stuntz wrote to Robinson about his deep concern over “a spirit of divisiveness in the mission” and the charges being made by some that Arms was dealing “dishonestly in the matter of exchange”⁸¹. On the same day Stuntz reproved Rice for expressing himself about Arms in an offensive way⁸². The investigation which followed showed that Rice and Robinson were at least partly in the wrong, because the board in New York ordered Rice to pay Arms the sum of \$ 320.83 immediately⁸³.

The attitude of the newer missionaries was motivated by their conviction that revivalism no longer adequately expressed Christianity in the modern world. As far as North America was concerned they were probably right, but in Chile where the Methodists were still largely working among the lower classes, they were at that time certainly wrong. If this disagreement could have been approached in the right spirit, great good might have resulted as it did of the disagreement between the mission board and Taylor, but it is clear that on neither side was the spirit right, and any chance that Arms might have had of mediating in the conflict was ruined by the shabby quarrel over mission finances which immediately preceded the controversy over Pentecostalism.

f. The beginning of the revival in Valparaíso

In 1907 Mrs. Hoover received a pamphlet entitled: “The Baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire”⁸⁴, which had been written by Minnie Abrams who had been at a Bible school together with Mrs. Hoover. Miss Abrams had since worked in the girls’ homes established by a Brahman lady,

⁷⁹ Stuntz’s letter to Bristol dated Feb. 6, 1909. Me. L.B. Vol. 154. p. 507.

⁸⁰ Stuntz’s letter to Campbell dated Jan. 8, 1910. Me. L.B. Vol. 155. p. 377.

⁸¹ Stuntz’s letter to Robinson dated Oct. 22, 1909, Me. L.B. Vol. 155. p. 274.

⁸² Stuntz’s letter to Rice dated Oct. 22, 1909. Me. L.B. Vol. 155. p. 276.

⁸³ Stuntz’s letter to Rice dated April 20, 1910. Me. L.B. Vol. 155 p. 501.

⁸⁴ W. C. Hoover, *Pentecost in Chile*, *World Dominion*. Lon. April 1932. p. 155.

Pundita Ramabai, in India. There Miss Abrams had witnessed the revival which had taken place among the girls as a result of the reports received of the Welsh revival. In the pamphlet she described how some of the girls had seen visions, others had fallen into trances, while a few had even spoken English although they could not normally do so. What most attracted the Hoovers' attention, however, was Miss Abram's contention that the baptism of the Holy Spirit and fire was something additional to the experiences of justification and sanctification known among the Methodists⁸⁵. Hoover started corresponding with several of the early Pentecostal leaders, including T. B. Barratt of Norway, in an effort to find out more about this subject⁸⁶.

During 1908 Hoover became convinced that the baptism of the Spirit with accompanying visible signs was the legitimate heritage of the church, not only in the apostolic age, but at all times. He was, however, much occupied with the construction of the church and could not give the time he wanted to the congregation. Further, the difficulty of meeting in scattered homes meant that total attendances did not generally rise much above 150⁸⁷. As the new building neared completion, the expectation rose that once the congregation had taken possession of it, God would pour out a special blessing on them. Mrs. Hoover, who adopted a more extreme attitude than her husband, went so far as to mention by name the girl who would be the first among them to speak in tongues⁸⁸. Although not yet finished, the building was first used for a watch night service on December 31, 1908 and it seemed to those present that they had entered into the promised land⁸⁹. About a week later a member of the congregation felt that God was telling him that the pastor should gather a group of the most spiritual brothers around him for a daily session of prayer because they were to be baptized with tongues of fire. Hoover accepted this as a message from God and comparatively brief prayer meetings were held every day up to his departure for the annual conference in Temuco⁹⁰.

Expectations were high but as yet nothing had happened and on the Sunday night that Hoover was in Temuco, the preacher in Valparaíso called the members of the church board to the front and laid the blame for the spiritual condition of the church on himself and on them. As a result many stayed behind to make confessions and prayers that lasted most of the night. Some felt that they had received such a blessing that they asked the preacher to announce an all night vigil for next Saturday night, which he did. This was one of the turning points in the course of events, and the initiative came not from Hoover, but from the Chileans. Upon his return Hoover was asked what should be done about the vigil

⁸⁵ Hoover, *Historia del Avivamiento*. p. 14.

⁸⁶ Idem.

⁸⁷ Idem. p. 16.

⁸⁸ Buell Campbell's letter to Stunne, dated July 25, 1910. Me. F. N.Y.

⁸⁹ Hoover, *Op. Cit.* p. 17.

⁹⁰ Idem. pp. 17 f.

announced for the following Saturday. His reply was that it should take place, because they were engaged in seeking the baptism of the Holy Spirit and should not spare themselves any sacrifice to obtain it. If ordinary means were not enough then they would use extraordinary means⁹¹. Hoover's readiness to believe that God could be speaking to him and to the congregation by means of the Chilean believers was highly commendable. In this way he laid the foundation for the participation of every member in the life and direction of the congregation. But his reason for accepting the Chilean's suggestion was wrong. In our Lord's teaching as expressed by Luke: "It is the heavenly Father's wish to give the Spirit to all who ask"⁹², and there is no suggestion of "extraordinary means" being necessary⁹³.

The vigil was held and about 30 people came, but nothing happened, except that everyone became more conscious of their need and emptiness than ever before. Early in the morning after the vigil had ended Hoover was walking up and down in front of the altar when he suddenly burst out in uncontrollable sobs, which continued for some time, but which left a feeling of ineffable sweetness in his body after the spasm had passed. Shortly afterwards somebody broke out in a loud and uncontrollable fit of laughter⁹⁴. Such a fit of laughter had also overcome the Wesley brothers while they were members of the Holy Club at Oxford university⁹⁵, but whereas John Wesley later associated such bouts of laughter with the work of Satan⁹⁶, Hoover held them to be a sign that God was at work. John Wesley did believe that some of the physical signs which accompanied his early preaching were of God⁹⁷, in the sense that they were the involuntary accompaniments of the change God was working in the heart and life of those who heard him⁹⁸, but he never regarded any of the signs as being in themselves proofs of God's blessing⁹⁹. Wesley did nothing to encourage these signs and they soon passed away. Hoover, however, insisted that the majority of the signs that took place in the Valparaíso church could be taken as tokens that God was at work among them and, therefore, in his ministry the tendency was for these signs to continue and to multiply.

⁹¹ Hoover, *Op. Cit.* p. 19.

⁹² Luke XI : 13. If it be objected that the gift and not the baptism of the Spirit is here being referred to, then it should be noted that in the book of the Acts of the Apostles, the same writer repeatedly refers to the baptism of the Spirit as a gift. See Acts II : 38, VIII : 19-20, X : 44-45 and XI : 16-17.

⁹³ Luke XXIV : 49.

⁹⁴ Hoover, *Historia del Avivamiento*. pp. 19 f.

⁹⁵ John Wesley, *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley*. Lon. 1960. (2nd. reprint of the 1911 edition). Entry for Friday May 9, 1740. II p. 346.

⁹⁶ Idem. II pp. 346 f;

Entry Oct. 25, 1739 II pp. 300 f.

⁹⁷ Idem. John Wesley's letter to his brother Samuel, dated, April 4, 1739. II p. 226.

⁹⁸ Idem. Entry for Friday June 22, 1739. II p. 226;

Entry for Saturday July 7, 1739. II pp. 239 f.

⁹⁹ Idem. Entry for Jan. 1739. Wesley and the French prophets. II p. 137.

The vigils were repeated each Saturday night up to Easter ¹⁰⁰. Their fervour and sincerity undoubtedly produced spiritual fruits. Even Buell Campbell who was the first permanent pastor of the Methodist church in Valparaíso after Hoover, and who was very critical of his predecessor, admitted that these early meetings had "many elements of good" ¹⁰¹. One brother left a vigil to give back some goods that had been entrusted to him at the time of the earthquake in 1906, but which he had not yet returned. At the next vigil, while he was praying, he was overcome by a bout of gentle laughter ¹⁰². The release that this man experienced, when he found that he could pray to God with a clear conscience produced this involuntary reaction in his body. Yet so far nobody had spoken in tongues and Hoover felt that he was hindering the blessing. During Holy Week in a church prayer meeting he lay on the floor for two hours repeating constantly to himself: "Lord destroy this pastor, do not allow your work to be hindered because of one man". Only when some ladies returned with the message that God had already given him the blessing he was seeking, was he temporarily calmed. Two days later while he was praying with the assistant pastor, Castillo, the latter said in his prayer: "The work is not of man's doing". On hearing these words Hoover felt as if an arrow had pierced his heart, and for a quarter of an hour he was overcome by a paroxysm of laughter. After it had passed, he started speaking with Castillo about the sweetness of fellowship with the Lord, and was again interrupted by a flow of ejaculatory words which started coming out of his mouth. So violent was the spasm that his family came to see what was happening ¹⁰³.

In his burning desire to receive the baptism of the Spirit in the way that he felt it should be received, Hoover had applied to himself and to others pressures which were not of the Holy Spirit and which in the end produced a reaction of the flesh. At the same time there were cases of emotional release which were accompanied by such a genuine desire to glorify Christ and such a lasting improvement in moral behaviour, that even those who strongly opposed the movement were obliged to admit that the work of the Spirit was present in it, side by side with manifestations of the flesh. Hoover's account of these events, which he started writing in 1926, illustrates clearly these two aspects. In one or two places Hoover even suggests that what he had taken to be the voice of God was in reality auto-suggestion, although he never pursued this reasoning any further. On certain points Hoover was undoubtedly mis-

¹⁰⁰ *Actas de la Conferencia misionera occidental*. Valpo. 4-11 de febrero 1910.

¹⁰¹ Campbell's letter to Stuntz, dated July 25, 1910. Me. F. N.Y.

¹⁰² Hoover, *Historia del Avivamiento*. p. 20.

¹⁰³ Idem. pp. 21 f.

taken, but his utter sincerity ¹⁰⁴ was infectious, and his willingness to strip himself of the last vestige of standing that the office of missionary pastor gave him, clearly made a deep impression on the Chileans. Where Taylor had organized people into giving themselves, and Canut had enabled them to do so by his preaching, and Torregrosa had laboured to build up congregations so that others might have them, it was Hoover, who more than anyone else, gave the Chileans a chance to minister to himself. Each of these four in his own way emphasized self-denial in the Christian ministry, not only in the ordinary sense that they sacrificed themselves for others, but in that they worked to give others the privilege of serving. This last was the vital element that underlay the development, which they helped to mould, and which also moulded them.

¹⁰⁴ Eldon H. Martin, *Dorothy Mary Richard. Her Alabaster box*. N.Y. 1931. Dorothy Richard's letter dated April 17, 1910. p. 153; Mrs. Cahart, now living in Santiago, after a long life spent in service of the Methodist mission, assured the writer that there could be no question about Hoover's sincerity. She stayed in the Hoover home in February 1910; Howland, *A Life in His Presence. The Life & Letters of Mrs. Ida A. T. Arms*. p. 107; Chilean eye-witnesses are, with one exception, emphatic on this point. The one Chilean who doubted Hoover's sincerity was so biased in his general attitude that the writer could not accept his testimony on this point.

CHAPTER IX

THE PENTECOSTAL DIVISION AND THE LATER DEVELOPMENT OF METHODISM IN CHILE

a. The wrong turning taken by the revival movement

In the months May to July 1909 the revival movement spread rapidly. The emphasis at this early stage was placed on a renewal of life by the Holy Spirit. Sins were confessed in public, debts repaid, hardened wrongdoers wonderfully converted, and people who had been estranged from each other were reconciled¹. Victor Pavéz Toro, one of Torregrosa's converts who had been given an exhorter's licence by Cecilio Venegas in 1902², and who was appointed assistant to Robinson when the second Methodist church was formed in Santiago, was one of the first to visit Valparaíso and became convinced that this work was of God. He returned to Santiago and started revival meetings in his own church in May³, at first with the support of Robinson the pastor. Rice in his following annual report spoke of the beginning of a genuine revival there⁴. Tulio Moran, the Presbyterian pastor from Concepción, also visited Valparaíso. He too was convinced of the genuineness of the work and introduced Pentecostal practices to his own church as has been related in the fifth chapter.

After Easter, the vigils were continued, but at less frequent intervals. During a vigil held on Saturday night July 3, one of the choir girls suddenly fell down and lay on the floor for several hours. Then suddenly she got up and gave a message which so affected the listeners that they appeared to become drunk; some started laughing, others wept or shouted, while still others stood up and prayed⁵. After this three other girls fell to the ground, and soon so many began imitating this behaviour, that quilts and blankets were taken to the vigils on which to lay the people who had fallen down⁶. Hoover pointed out in his following annual report that most of the people so affected were professing Christians who had been leading inconsistent lives⁷. As genuine fruits

¹ *El Cristiano* (Organ of the Methodist church). Stgo. 5 de julio 1909;

Hoover, *Historia del Avivamiento Pentecostal en Chile*. Valpo. 1948. pp. 26 f.

² Certificate in possession of Victor Pavéz Ortiz, the son, in Stgo.

³ *El Cristiano*, Stgo. 21 de junio y 2 de agosto 1909.

⁴ *Actas de la conferencia metodista*. Valpo. 4-11 de febrero 1910.

⁵ Hoover, *Op. Cit.* p. 28.

⁶ Campbell's letter to Stuntz dated July 25, 1910. Me. F. N.Y.

⁷ *Actas de la conferencia misionera occidental de Sud América de la Iglesia Metodista Episcopal*. Valpo. 4-11 de febrero 1910.

of repentance usually followed, Hoover did not hesitate to attribute these signs to God, although he did admit that in some cases there were evidences that other spirits were also at work⁸. A young man, who appeared to belong to a better social class, came into one of these meetings and seeing two girls lying on the floor asked the pastor if he considered such proceedings in keeping with human dignity⁹. "No", answered Hoover calmly. "What is it then?" asked the young man; "divine", replied Hoover¹⁰.

During his visits as superintendent to the churches in the Valparaíso district Hoover naturally talked about the new experiences, and urged everyone to seek the baptism of the Spirit¹¹. In August he attended a finance committee meeting in Concepción, and afterwards went on to two places further to the south where Carlos Gomez, who had been brought up in his household, was stationed as Methodist preacher. The effect of these visits was to prepare the way for a later extension of the Pentecostal movement and Hoover was afterwards much criticized on this score¹². This criticism was not, however, quite fair, because there is no evidence that Hoover ever intended to be disloyal to the Methodist church. Hoover did distribute some Pentecostal literature produced in the United States and India, which reflected the critical attitude towards all organized churches¹³ prevalent in those groups where the Pentecostal movement had arisen in the Anglo-Saxon world, but Hoover's later stand on this matter shows that at this moment he was not yet aware of the problem.

During Hoover's absence, there was again a new and vital development in Valparaíso. Nellie Laidlaw, an English girl who had been dismissed from her post in the American consul's household because of her drunken and dissolute life and then had taken to prostitution, called on Mrs. Hoover and begged for help. Mrs. Hoover took her into the household and Nellie at once professed conversion. Very soon Nellie succeeded in convincing Mrs. Hoover that she had a most remarkable gift of prophecy, with the result that even before her husband's return, Mrs. Hoover had introduced Nellie to the congregation. During the services Nellie Laidlaw would be "taken by the Spirit", sometimes falling flat on the floor, at other times giving some stirring prophecy or revelation with her eyes closed¹⁴. In this state she might also start gesticulating wildly¹⁵, but her most controversial activity was to walk about the congregation with closed eyes, suddenly single somebody out, and order

⁸ Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 33.

⁹ In the Spanish there is a play on words which cannot be properly translated. The young man asked Hoover if this behaviour were 'humano'.

¹⁰ Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 30.

¹¹ Idem. pp. 22-24.

¹² Campbell's letter to Stuntz dated July 25, 1910. Me. F. N.Y.

¹³ Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 59.

¹⁴ Campbell's letter to Stuntz dated July 25, 1910. Me. F. N.Y.

¹⁵ Arturo Oyarzún, *Reminiscencias históricas de la obra evangélica en Chile*. Valdivia 1921. p. 50.

them to kneel down. Nellie then revealed what was in their heart, called them to repentance and laid her hands on them to give them the Spirit¹⁶.

Not everybody was at once convinced that these revelations were of God and so the brethren called a meeting to talk and pray over the matter. Finally most were convinced that these latest signs did come from God¹⁷. Those who were not, hoped that Hoover would put an end to these things when he returned, but in this they were disappointed, because he also humbled himself and allowed Nellie to lay her hands on him¹⁸. This endorsement encouraged many to try to draw attention to themselves by some new sign. Prayer meetings were held once or even twice a week up to the early hours of the morning¹⁹. The shouting became louder and louder²⁰; some rushed out on the street calling out texts²¹; others charged about the building fighting, as they believed, with the devil²²; young men and women lay on the floor together²³; visits were made to the Union and Presbyterian churches in Valparaíso to try to introduce these practices there²⁴; and on one or two occasions one member pretended to wash people in the blood by passing his hands over their bodies²⁵. The signs, which at first, had been manifestations of spiritual renewal, were now no more than ends in themselves.

Hoover was later strongly criticized for not using his authority as pastor to put an end to these excesses. Hoover's reply was then that both he and the congregation were travelling along a new and untried way, and that as they studied the Scriptures together and found certain practices to be contrary to God's will, they suppressed these²⁶. This certainly happened in the last quarter of the year when the meetings again became more orderly²⁷, but not in the months September and October when the extravagances were at their height²⁸. The reason that Hoover did not intervene against practices which at their best were not edifying and at their worst were indecent, was that he could not do so without undermining his whole position. He had told his congregation over and over again that the pastor was nothing more than the humblest member and that they all had merely to follow the leading of the Spirit. In fact he boasted that they were the ones who really believed in the Holy Spirit because they were prepared to leave the matter of the necessary corrections entirely in His hands²⁹.

¹⁶ Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 35.

¹⁷ Idem.

¹⁸ Campbell's letter to Stuntz dated July 25, 1910. Me. F. N.Y.

¹⁹ *El Mercurio*, Stgo. (Daily Newspaper) sábado 2 de octubre 1909.

²⁰ Campbell's letter to Stuntz dated July 25, 1910. Me. F. N.Y.

²¹ Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 44.

²² Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 31.

²³ Campbell's letter to Stuntz dated July 25, 1910. Me. F. N.Y.

²⁴ Hoover, Op. Cit. pp. 43 f.

²⁵ Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 60 (Hoover quotes the text of the accusation made against him by the Conference, and in his rebuttal makes no attempt to deny this point).

²⁶ Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 61.

²⁷ Stuntz's letter to Campbell dated Jan. 4, 1910. Me. L.B. Vol. 155 p. 361.

²⁸ Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 60.

²⁹ Idem. pp. 30 f.

b. The division of the Methodist churches in Santiago

In the first few days of September Nellie Laidlaw said she wanted to visit her sister in Santiago and Hoover gave her a letter of recommendation to the church³⁰. Nellie joined the revival group in the second church, which in the meantime had established contact with a similar group in the first church. As in Valparaiso her presence almost immediately provoked disorders and Robinson forbade them to hold further meetings in his church³¹. On Saturday night September 11, the whole group held a vigil in a private-house³², and Nellie must have given a revelation to the effect that God wanted them to take over the churches in Santiago. Her slogan was that the Lord was pastor, and, therefore, that the human pastors had no right to rule in the churches³³. Next morning at the second church, Nellie asked for permission to speak at the Sunday school. When Robinson refused, there was a great clamour, but the Sunday school closed without further incident. In the afternoon, there was a meeting of a new group that had been started by the second church at Montel, then a suburb of Santiago. The records of what happened at this meeting and later in the day are contradictory. The account that follows is based on articles in the Methodist paper *El Cristiano*, on newspaper reports, and on the recollections of the two surviving eye-witnesses³⁴.

When Nellie again asked to speak, Robinson refused energetically. The Chileans resented this authoritarian attitude and Victor Pavéz went up to Robinson and pleaded with him saying, "It will not do us any harm"³⁵. Robinson, who was clearly frightened that all semblance of authority would disappear if Nellie Laidlaw were allowed to speak, rebuffed Pavéz. This only increased the clamour. Nellie then went out into the courtyard and gave her revelations there³⁶. Later some of her followers went inside again to remonstrate with Robinson, very possibly with the intention of trying once more to take over the service which was still in progress. In the confusion, one man tried to catch hold of Robinson. Some believe he was trying to keep Robinson quiet³⁷, others that he was forcibly drawing Robinson's attention to what he was trying to say³⁸. Robinson pushed the man away, but lost his footing and fell off the platform cutting his head open³⁹. Reports sent to New

³⁰ Idem. p. 36.

³¹ Carlos Moran Mesías' written recollections.

³² Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 37 (Carlos Moran lived in the house in question).

³³ *El Cristiano*, Stgo. 20 de setiembre 1909.

³⁴ Carlos Moran Mesías and Moisés Torregrosa Visens (the son of José Torregrosa who figures in the previous chapter).

³⁵ Recollection of Moisés Torregrosa.

³⁶ *El Cristiano*, Stgo. 20 de setiembre 1909.

Hoover, Op. Cit. 36.

³⁷ Victor Pavéz Ortiz's information. Moisés Torregrosa was outside at this moment.

³⁸ Carlos Moran's written recollection.

³⁹ *El Mercurio*, Stgo. 13 de setiembre 1909.

York that "Robinson was struck a blow on the head"⁴⁰, or that there were "three or four hanging on to Robinson" . . . who "got him to the edge of the platform and then pushed him off, holding him down so that he would fall"⁴¹, are irreconcilably opposed to the best evidence available in Santiago.

In the evening Rice feared that there would be trouble at the service to be held in the first church and had a policeman posted ready. Nellie Laidlaw interrupted the service and demanded that she be allowed to prophesy⁴². The missionary who was leading the service said that he would listen to what she had to say at the end of the meeting⁴³. Afterwards, when Nellie again asked to be allowed to speak, the missionary said he first wished to speak to her privately⁴⁴. The girl took this as a refusal and started speaking anyway. Rice then asked her to keep quiet, and when she failed to do so, brought the waiting policeman into the meeting and told him to arrest her. At this Nellie's supporters became furious and shielded the girl so as to prevent her being taken. The policeman then called for more reinforcements. These cleared the hall and took Nellie to the police station where she spent the night⁴⁵. A report later sent to New York, that "the mob had used the one policeman so badly and so insultingly that Rice had all he could do to restrain the captain of the mounted squad from knocking down and dragging the whole mob to prison"⁴⁶ is contradicted by the fact that the article in the Methodist paper *El Cristiano* would have mentioned the use of physical violence by Nellie's supporters had this occurred. Furthermore when some of these supporters tried to get themselves arrested together with their "prophetess" the authorities refused to do this⁴⁷.

Nellie was released the next day after the judge had warned her not to interrupt the services again⁴⁸. She promised the judge to return immediately to Valparaíso, but two weeks later was still holding her noisy meetings in private houses, as near as possible to the Methodist meeting places and at the same hour⁴⁹. The reports sent to Hoover of all these

⁴⁰ Bishop Neely's letter to Leonard, the general secretary of the Methodist mission, in N.Y., dated Oct. 16, 1909. Me. L.B. Vol. 156 p. 109.

(Neely quoted a report by *El Heraldo Evangélico*, the Presbyterian paper in Chile, which in turn had relied on other reports.)

⁴¹ Campbell's letter to Stuntz, dated Oct. 31, 1910. Me. F. N.Y.

(Campbell was accurate in those things he reported at first-hand, but not sufficiently critical of reports given him by others, especially not of the reports he received from Stgo.)

⁴² According to Carlos Moran she interrupted just as the missionary (Ezra Bauman) started the service. Moisés Torregrosa said she interrupted the sermon. Moran's written record is more in agreement with *El Mercurio's* report of Sept. 13, 1909.

⁴³ Carlos Moran's written recollection.

Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 37.

⁴⁴ *El Cristiano*, Stgo. 20 de setiembre 1909.

⁴⁵ Carlos Moran's written recollection.

El Cristiano, Stgo. 20 de setiembre 1909.

⁴⁶ Campbell's letter to Stuntz, dated Oct. 31, 1910. Me. F. N.Y.

⁴⁷ Oyarzún, Op. Cit. p. 159.

⁴⁸ *El Mercurio*, Stgo. 14 de setiembre 1909.

⁴⁹ *El Cristiano*, Stgo. 27 de setiembre 1909.

happenings were highly coloured and in some respects untruthful ⁵⁰, but unfortunately the same must be said for the reports emanating from the other side. Nevertheless after all that had happened it is astonishing that Hoover should have been so unsuspecting as to give her a fresh letter of recommendation when she went to Concepción in December ⁵¹. There she tried to take over Tulio Moran's congregation, but had only slight success ⁵². She stayed with Arms, who as related in the previous chapter was Hoover's closest friend among the missionaries. Her bad behaviour at this time ⁵³ was probably one of the reasons why Arms later became critical of the Pentecostal movement ⁵⁴. Nellie went on to Temuco ⁵⁵, but Cecilio Venegas who was then pastor there, encouraged his members to visit her meetings and form their own opinion, with the result that Nellie gained not a single adept in that place ⁵⁶. She tried to have herself named as visitor for the new movement in the whole country ⁵⁷, but by March 1910 she was beginning to lose the confidence even of her own supporters ⁵⁸.

Nellie Laidlaw's further life was a tragic one. She became a drug addict, was seen selling morphine and lottery tickets outside one of the main hotels in Santiago and died, unrepentant ⁵⁹. It is difficult to understand how she could have deceived so many people ⁶⁰; possibly she suffered from schizophrenia. It is even more difficult to understand how Hoover, who was a doctor of medicine, should for so long have resisted recognizing the truth about her. On April 9, Bishop Bristol wrote "that the woman Laidlaw who was put forward as a prophetess of the new doctrine . . . is now proven to be guilty of immorality, but is still recognized as a prominent worker" ⁶¹. Not until late in that year did Hoover finally repudiate Nellie Laidlaw ⁶², and in the book he wrote in 1926 about the revival, in which Nellie figures quite prominently, he never gives any indication of her real character.

After the happenings of Sunday September 12, the majorities in the

⁵⁰ Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 36. That Nellie should have asked 'in a very humble spirit' if she might speak, or that the man who tried to catch hold of Robinson went 'to embrace the pastor' is manifestly absurd.

⁵¹ Idem. p. 60; *El Cristiano*, Stgo. 27 de diciembre 1909.

⁵² Boomer's letter to 'Dear Friends' dated Aug. 25, 1910. P.M.

⁵³ Carlos Moran's recollection.

⁵⁴ Arms, *El Origen del Metodismo y su implantación en la costa occidental de Sud América*. Stgo. 1923. p. 53.

⁵⁵ Campbell's letter to Stuntz dated July 25, 1910.

⁵⁶ Elías Venegas' information.

⁵⁷ Victor Pavéz Ortiz's information.

⁵⁸ Carlos Moran's recollection.

⁵⁹ Victor Pavéz Ortiz's recollection.

⁶⁰ Victor Pavéz Ortiz told the writer how a prostitute came to his church and was apparently wonderfully converted. Her testimony was so convincing and her revelations so biblical, that the ladies of the church, including Pavéz's wife, were soon under her spell. Something made Pavéz uneasy, however, and upon making enquiries he discovered that the woman was still continuing in her old life.

⁶¹ Stuntz's letter to Sampson Rogers (Hoover's brother-in-law) dated May 10, 1910. Me. L.B. Vol. 156. p. 19. (Stuntz quoted Bristol's letter to him.)

⁶² *Christian Advocate*, N.Y. Nov. 3, 1910. p. 153.

first and second churches left their pastors never to return. Later a majority of the third church, which also had a missionary pastor, joined them⁶³. It is significant that the fourth church, which had a national pastor, is never mentioned in these reports, and seems to have been relatively unaffected. The band of Nellie's supporters in Santiago was at first only 15 to 20 strong⁶⁴. Their number suddenly grew because of the nationalistic reaction against the foreign pastors. Nellie's behaviour was provocative and disgraceful, but if only the missionaries had allowed her to speak so that the Chileans could come to their own conclusion, the events of that Sunday would surely have taken a different course. When in addition Rice used the police on them, the fury of the Chileans was so great that some of them afterwards nearly did violence to the missionaries⁶⁵.

The policy the missionaries followed afterwards was also very unfortunate. Victor Pavéz Toro was summarily dismissed from his post as Robinson's assistant because he had supported Nellie Laidlaw, and told to leave the house he was occupying which was mission property. He started a law suit against the mission, but lost it and was turned out in April 1910⁶⁶. It was, therefore, all the more painful that a notice should be published in *El Cristiano* that he "had retired from his post as Robinson's assistant"⁶⁷. Victor Pavéz Toro is remembered by many as the humblest⁶⁸ and sincerest of all the early Chilean Pentecostal leaders and the unfeeling treatment meted out to him is still a painful memory to many of those who knew him.

Hoover advised the groups which had separated themselves to try and reach a settlement at the next annual conference which would be held in February 1910⁶⁹, but already in December 1909 the quarterly conference in Santiago decided to terminate "all official relations with all people who had withdrawn from the churches and continued to hold separate meetings in scandalous opposition"⁷⁰. Any hope of a settlement in February was thereby removed in advance. Whereas Hoover during this period gave the Chileans too much freedom, the missionaries in Santiago alienated many of those who basically agreed with them, by not showing enough confidence in the Chilean's sense of judgment.

c. The growing opposition to Hoover

The meetings in Valparaíso at this time were orderly, except for the

⁶³ Boomer's letter addressed to 'Dear Friends' dated Aug. 25, 1910 P.M.

⁶⁴ Campbell's letter to Stuntz dated July 25, 1910. Me. F. N.Y.

⁶⁵ Campbell's letter to Stuntz dated Oct. 31, 1910. Me. F. N.Y.

⁶⁶ Carlos Moran's written recollections.

⁶⁷ *El Cristiano*, Stgo. 11 de octubre 1909.

⁶⁸ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, (Organ of the Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal).

Stgo. Diciembre 1933. No. 63. An article by Hoover about Victor Pavéz Toro in memoriam.

Moisés Torregrosa's recollection.

⁶⁹ Hoover, Op. Cit. pp. 38 and 63.

⁷⁰ *El Cristiano*, Stgo. 27 de diciembre 1909.

vigils ⁷¹. The noise of these meetings, which often continued to the early hours of the morning, disturbed the neighbourhood and led to an official investigation by the municipality ⁷². After having first protested to Rice ⁷³, who had no right to intervene because Hoover was superintendent in his own district, the Presbyterians wrote directly to Bishop Bristol who was then in the United States ⁷⁴. A reporter of a sensational newspaper started giving reports of the meetings and to add publicity to his stories filed a criminal charge against Hoover, amongst other things, for giving his hearers a pernicious drink called the blood of the Lamb, which made them lie for hours on the ground in a stupefied state ⁷⁵. When reports of these happenings started appearing in the national newspapers ⁷⁶, Rice felt justified in intervening. Together with Robinson and the American consul he visited the judge in Valparaiso on October 4, and found that an order had been written to close the Methodist church there on the grounds that it was a public nuisance ⁷⁷. Rice asked the judge to suspend action temporarily till he had time to contact the bishop in the United States ⁷⁸.

Hoover later complained that all would have gone well if "other people had minded their business" ⁷⁹, but he forgot that his own members had also interfered in the lives of others. The municipality obliged him to sign a document that he would close the meetings at ten o'clock at night ⁸⁰, but did not otherwise interfere with his work. The criminal charge was soon dismissed as being absurd ⁸¹. In fact he was treated extremely generously by the Chilean authorities, something that could, unfortunately, not always be said of the way his colleagues acted towards him. After the interview with the judge in Valparaiso, Rice cabled New York: "Hoover criminally prosecuted. We got judge to briefly suspend decision awaiting action by the bishop" ⁸². Under the impression that Hoover was already under arrest, Stuntz cabled the finance committee to send Hoover on furlough at once, if they thought this was necessary ⁸³. Arms, however, defended Hoover and hoped that the bishop would first investigate things on the spot ⁸⁴, and as a result

⁷¹ *El Mercurio*, Stgo. 2 de octubre 1909.

⁷² Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 51.

⁷³ Campbell's letter to Stuntz, dated July 25, 1910. Me. F. N.Y.

⁷⁴ Boomer's letter to Speer, dated Oct. 4, 1909. P.M.

⁷⁵ Hoover, Op. Cit. pp. 38f.

⁷⁶ *El Mercurio*, Stgo. 2 de octubre 1909.

⁷⁷ Campbell's letter to Stuntz, dated July 25, 1910. Me. F. N.Y.

⁷⁸ *El Mercurio*, Stgo. 6 de octubre 1909.

⁷⁹ Campbell's letter to Stuntz dated July 25, 1910. Me. F. N.Y.

⁸⁰ Idem.

⁸¹ Hoover, Op. Cit. pp. 39 f; Stuntz's letter to Arms dated Dec. 22, 1909. Me. L.B. Vol. 155 p. 357. (Stuntz's argument that he never took Rice's telegram seriously is contradicted by the contents of his earlier letters.)

⁸² Stuntz's letter to Bristol dated Oct. 7, 1909. Me. L.B. Vol. 155 p. 251.

⁸³ Stuntz's letter to Neely dated Oct. 19, 1909. Me. L.B. Vol. 155 p. 259.

⁸⁴ Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 55. Hoover quotes Stuntz's letter to Arms, dated Oct. 20, 1909. Me. L.B. Vol. 155 p. 265, but it seems that he never came to know the contents of Rice's telegram to N.Y.

the finance committee declined to take the responsibility for sending Hoover on furlough ⁸⁵. In 1910 Arms expressed the opinion that "if last year some of our missionaries had not been so hard with Dr. and Mrs. Hoover, I think the latter might have been more disposed to heed the counsel of their brethren to check the strange things, and we might have had in Chile a widespread revival like those of China and Korea" ⁸⁶.

Towards the end of 1909, the Valparaiso church was experiencing a reaction. Hoover reported at the next annual conference that many of the members who had apparently received the greatest blessing had fallen into a state of anxiety or of indifference ⁸⁷. The accusations made against Hoover during that conference for having tolerated excesses, all referred to things that had happened months before ⁸⁸, and there is every indication that as far as these things were concerned, Hoover had already learned his lesson. The reason that Arms failed in his utterly sincere attempts at conciliation ⁸⁹, was that he allowed the personal quarrels and the disagreements about specific excesses, to become a smoke-screen, blinding him to the fact that the dispute which started about the demand for more freedom became eventually a doctrinal one. In fairness to Arms, it should be added that it was many years before the Methodist mission as a whole came to recognize this fact ⁹⁰.

d. The doctrinal issue

In October 1909 Robinson wrote in an editorial article that the regeneration of the soul was a spiritual miracle, very different from material miracles such as visions and the gift of tongues, and that whereas the spiritual miracle was something destined for the church of all ages, the material marvels had disappeared for eighteen centuries ⁹¹. Later this extreme distinction between the spiritual and the material was somewhat softened, but the Methodists in Chile clung to the fact that what they considered to be irrational signs such as visions, prostrations and the gift of tongues and of prophecies, could under no circumstances be manifestations of the Holy Spirit, whom they knew to be rational. Either in face of this attack, or because of his experiences in the Valparaiso church, Hoover modified his position. Towards the end of 1909 he wrote a missionary in Bolivia that signs were not the essence, but the accompaniments of the great work of God. The essence of this work

⁸⁵ Stuntz's letter to Neely, dated Oct. 19, 1909. Me. L.B. Vol. 155 p. 259.

⁸⁶ Eldon H. Martin, *Dorothy Mary Richard: her Alabaster Box*. N.Y. 1931. (Miss Richard's letter of Nov. 14, 1910.)

⁸⁷ *Actas de la conferencia metodista*, Valpo. 4-11 de febrero 1910.

⁸⁸ Hoover, Op. Cit. pp. 59 f.

⁸⁹ Howland, *A life in His Presence. The Life and letters of Mrs. Ida Arms*. pp. 108f

⁹⁰ Merayne Copplestone's information.

⁹¹ *El Cristiano*. Stgo. 18 de octubre 1909

consisted of the transformation of the life ⁹². Thus Hoover moved closer to Wesley's position, although a difference remained in that Hoover still believed that these accompaniments were in themselves evidences of God's working.

With the exception of certain manifestations of joy ⁹³, Wesley tended to regard the signs, especially when they were expressions of dread or agony of spirit, as the work of the devil ⁹⁴. It was the change from symptoms of distress to symptoms of peace, which Wesley regarded as the manifestation of the Spirit, and not the symptoms in themselves ⁹⁵. The irrational nature of some of the signs was, therefore, no problem to Wesley, so long as the change in the signs was in the direction of greater rationality ⁹⁶. Hoover never seems to have understood this distinction between manifestation and accompaniment properly, and was never able to envisage the possibility of the Spirit working without certain specified accompaniments. Wesley did make this distinction and, provided there was an ethical change, could, therefore, regard any particular accompaniment as optional, while at the same time believing just as vehemently as Hoover did, that the work of the Spirit had to manifest itself in the material details of our life.

At the beginning of the annual conference which was held from February 4 to 11, in Valparaiso, a commission was appointed under the chairmanship of Robert Elphick to examine Hoover's doctrine and practice. This commission obviously did not find its task easy because it only presented its findings on Thursday morning February 10. Apart from the charges connected with the excesses which have been described above, and which Hoover had by this time largely eliminated from his church, the commission found Hoover guilty of teaching false and anti-methodist doctrines, namely that the baptism of the Spirit manifests itself by visions, by convulsions on the floor, by the gift of tongues and by prophecies ⁹⁷. The trouble was that Hoover could, and obviously did, defend himself by declaring that he now believed the signs to be accompaniments, but not manifestations of the Spirit.

Rice later declared that it proved to be impossible to destroy the evil, without at the same time destroying much of the good ⁹⁸. Nevertheless he was determined to have Hoover's teaching condemned, and in this the bishop fully supported him. In the afternoon session, therefore, Rice

⁹² Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 91.

⁹³ John Wesley, *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley*. Lon. 1960. II p. 328 (Entry for Mon. Dec. 24, 1739).

⁹⁴ Idem. II. pp. 189-191 Weds. May 2, 1739; II p. 203 Mon. May 21, 1739; II. p. 291 Fri. Oct. 12, 1739; II p. 298 Tues. Oct. 23, 1739; II p. 346 Fri. May 9, 1740; II p. 347 Weds. May 21, 1740.

⁹⁵ Idem. II p. 184 Thurs. April 26, 1739; II p. 186 Mon. April 30, 1739; II p. 324 Tues. Dec. 4, 1739.

⁹⁶ Idem. p. 190 Letter to Samuel Wesley, dated May 10, 1739, and II p. 202 Letter to Samuel Wesley, dated April 4, 1739.

⁹⁷ Hoover, Op. Cit. pp 58f.

⁹⁸ *Actas de la conferencia metodista*, Concepción, Chile 14-20 de febrero 1911.

presented a motion by which the conference repudiated Nellie Laidlaw and declared that it was false, anti-methodist and irrational to affirm that the baptism of the Spirit was accompanied by the gift of tongues, by visions, by miracles of healing and by other manifestations⁹⁹. The conference approved this motion and fell into the same trap as Hoover, namely of not distinguishing properly between a manifestation and an accompaniment. To declare that the above-mentioned signs were not in themselves manifestations of the Spirit was in accord with John Wesley's teaching, but to lay down as a general rule that these signs did not accompany the work of the Spirit, was a direct denial of John Wesley's early ministry, and indeed of the Methodist revivals in the United States, in India and in Korea¹⁰⁰. Whereas Hoover believed that a vital work of the Spirit was inevitably accompanied by the above-mentioned signs, the annual conference went to the other extreme by stating that such signs could not be linked to a true work of the Spirit.

On the following and last day of the conference Hoover was urged to take a furlough. Under the impression that he might be able to present his case more successfully before the mission secretaries in New York¹⁰¹, Hoover finally agreed to go¹⁰². The conference then withdrew the charges against him and eliminated all reference to the trial from the conference records¹⁰³. This was surely an admission on the part of the conference members of the weakness of their doctrinal position¹⁰⁴, and makes it all the more regrettable that the above-mentioned motion was published in *El Cristiano* without further reflection¹⁰⁵. The group that had split off from the first Methodist church in Santiago, answered with a resolution giving themselves the name of "National Methodist Church" and breaking off all relations with the M. E. church. The group which had separated from the second Methodist church, adopted similar measures. The reasons given for this action were firstly that by its rejection of every manifestation of the Spirit's work in the soul, the annual conference in Valparaiso had openly declared itself against the spiritual revival and secondly that the petition to the bishop, relating to the status of the separated groups in Santiago, had not been attended to by the conference¹⁰⁶.

As related above the two separated groups in Santiago had in effect been excommunicated by the quarterly conference held in Santiago at

⁹⁹ *Actas de la conferencia metodista*, Valpo. 4-11 de febrero 1910.

¹⁰⁰ Minutes of the General Missionary Committee of the Me. church. Vol. E. p. 538; Stuntz's letter to S. P. Craven, dated Dec. 9, 1909. Me. L.B. Vol. 155 p. 337.

¹⁰¹ Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 61.

¹⁰² Minutes of the General Missionary Committee of the Me. church. Vol. F. p. 32.

¹⁰³ Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 61:

The *Actas* make not the slightest mention of the difficulties. The writer has had to rely on Hoover's book and the available correspondence.

¹⁰⁴ Hoover, Op. Cit. pp. 81f. Hoover affirmed that the issue of his early furlough was raised so as to bring the conflict within the administrative sphere, where the bishop's authority was supreme.

¹⁰⁵ *El Cristiano*, Stgo. 14 de febrero 1910 (the conference ended on Feb. 11).

¹⁰⁶ Hoover, Op. Cit. pp. 65f.

the end of 1909 ¹⁰⁷. The decision of the annual conference not to attend to the petition of these groups meant that they either had to return to their pastor or remain outside the M. E. church. Robinson had already confidently predicted that these groups would soon peter out, and he had cited among other examples the national church in Iquique, started by Vidaurre, to which reference has been made in the fifth chapter ¹⁰⁸. The reason that this did not happen, and that these two insignificant groups in Santiago became the foundation stones of a mighty Pentecostal movement in Chile, is that a vital doctrinal issue was at stake and that the Chileans knew it. It was not by accident that they named the doctrinal reason first.

The Methodist church in Chile had no wish to oppose the work of the Spirit, but the wording of the annual conference's declaration not only denied that the baptism of the Spirit was accompanied by the gift of tongues, by visions and by miracles of healing, but also denied that this baptism was accompanied by other manifestations. This struck at the basic conviction of the Chilean Pentecostals that the Spirit should be allowed to express Himself freely in material ways. If His work was not even to be accompanied by other manifestations, it was very difficult for them to see how He could express Himself materially at all. This was not merely a theoretical consideration. For some time after the Pentecostal division, nobody who was left in the Methodist church in Valparaiso dared to say "Amen" aloud in the service, for fear of being taken for a Pentecostal. People became so self-conscious about expressing themselves that personal evangelism, open air preaching and prayer meetings all withered away ¹⁰⁹.

Buell Campbell wrote of the Pentecostals in Valparaiso that "they echo the refrain among them: 'we wanted more liberty and desired the Spirit to have His way with us' " ¹¹⁰. Campbell, in common with many other Methodists at that time, was inclined grossly to overrate Hoover's influence with them. Instead of accepting many of the Chileans' statements on face value, he dismissed them as "things which he (Hoover) has taught his people to say" ¹¹¹. The result was that many of the Methodists never realized how strongly the Chileans felt that the missionaries had tried to prevent the free expression of the Holy Spirit. Chilean Pentecostalism owes its dual character of nationalism and spirituality, to the Chilean reaction against every attempt to control the expression of the Spirit according to the insights of the foreign missionaries, coupled with an exuberant desire for the Spirit to express Himself freely in the local situation.

¹⁰⁷ *El Cristiano*, Stgo. 27 de diciembre 1909.

¹⁰⁸ *Idem*, 29 de noviembre 1909.

¹⁰⁹ Moisés Torregrosa's information and recollection. (Moisés Torregrosa is a Methodist).

¹¹⁰ Campbell's letter to Stuntz dated July 25, 1910. Me.F. N.Y.

¹¹¹ Campbell's letter to Stuntz dated Oct. 31, 1910. Me.F. N.Y.

c. The final stages of the division

On the Friday evening at the end of the conference, Hoover met the officers of his church and informed them that he would soon return on furlough to the United States. The officers told him plainly that they needed him and that he was not to return to the United States. Hoover replied that if he did not go it would mean that he had to leave the mission, but the officers continued to insist that he should not leave them ¹¹². It may have been Hoover who introduced Pentecostal ideas to Chile, but the Chileans were the first to realize that a division was inevitable. Delegates from both groups in Santiago, as well as many members of the Valparaíso church, attended the public sessions of the annual conference ¹¹³ which were conducted in Spanish, and what they saw and heard there decided them to separate. In the case of the groups in Santiago the separation was forced on them, but the church members in Valparaíso separated of their own volition.

For Hoover it was a great wrench to make the break ¹¹⁴. The fact that he was losing all his means of support, whereas the Chileans were only losing the building to which they had contributed, undoubtedly played some part in the difference of attitude. That night Hoover could not sleep and only after a great struggle did he finally decide not to leave Chile ¹¹⁵. Hoover maintains that he informed the bishop on Saturday morning that he could not keep his promise to go on furlough ¹¹⁶; but Campbell denies this ¹¹⁷. What is certain is that, because of his intimate contact with the Chileans, Hoover knew as the conference drew to a close that a division was coming ¹¹⁸. What is also certain is that, only on April 9, did Bishop Bristol write the news, which he had either heard from Hoover directly or had been told later by others, that Hoover was not coming on furlough ¹¹⁹. The Board in New York thus knew nothing of the real situation till after the division had taken place ¹²⁰.

Once the conference was past, Hoover still had a slight hope that things might be forgotten ¹²¹. Bishop Bristol had, however, made Rice

¹¹² Carlos Moran's written recollection.

¹¹³ Hoover, *Op. Cit.* p. 57.

¹¹⁴ *Idem.* p. 80.

¹¹⁵ *Idem.* pp. 63f.

¹¹⁶ *Idem.* pp. 64 and 77.

¹¹⁷ Campbell's letter to Stuntz, dated July 25, 1910. Me.F. N.Y.

¹¹⁸ Moisés Torregrosa's recollection. He lodged in the Hoover's home during this memorable conference.

¹¹⁹ Stuntz's letter to Bristol dated May 12, 1910. Me.L.B. Vol. 156 p. 24.

¹²⁰ Stuntz's letter to Bristol dated April 20, 1910. Me.L.B. Vol. 155 p. 496.

Stuntz was then still under the impression that Hoover was returning on furlough. The writer is convinced from an examination of all available material in N.Y., (thanks to the kindness of Dr. Coppleson) that even up to recent times the board in N.Y. was never informed of the pertinent facts.

¹²¹ Hoover, *Op. cit.* p. 73. This hope was manifestly absurd but its existence does explain Hoover's inaction after the annual conference.

superintendent of the Valparaíso region as well as Santiago ¹²². Stuntz in New York realized at once that this would give trouble ¹²³, and wrote Rice pleading with him to go gently ¹²⁴, but when Stuntz wrote, everything had been settled. At the quarterly conference held in Valparaíso on April 4, ¹²⁵ Rice, who was naturally presiding, asked the officers of the church whether they were distributing *El Cristiano*, the Methodist magazine in Chile. The brethren replied that they were not, because the magazine had refused to publish reports sent in by the Valparaíso church, but had published criticisms about this church from other sources ¹²⁶. According to Hoover, Rice then said that if they were not prepared to support the official institutions of their church, they would do better to resign as officers of that church ¹²⁷. Whatever Rice said, it upset the Chileans so much that they decided among themselves to withdraw straightaway from the M. E. church ¹²⁸ and informed Hoover of this decision a day or two later ¹²⁹.

Hoover had by this time committed himself to such an extent that he had no choice. Nevertheless he hesitated once more. During the following week, he received a letter from the bishop in which the latter expressed his firm resolve to send Hoover on furlough ¹³⁰. Arms also wrote pointing out that, regardless of the rights or wrongs of the case, Hoover as a minister of the M. E. church had solemnly promised obedience to his bishop. The bishop would allow him to stay in Chile, provided he renounced the errors in his teaching, but would otherwise either keep him to his promise made at the end of the conference to leave Chile, or oblige him to leave the church. Arms then added that he agreed with the bishop that if Hoover persisted in believing that the Holy Spirit took possession of people and worked through them in the way that Hoover said He did, his church would destroy itself ¹³¹. On receiving this letter on Saturday April 9, Mrs. Hoover said to her husband: "Let us go with them". "Good, let us go", he replied ¹³².

While the church officers secretly prepared all the members for the coming division and made sure that as many as possible went with them, Hoover started writing his letters of resignation to the mission. On Sunday evening April 17, he read out his resignation to the church members and on the following morning posted a letter of resignation to Rice ¹³³. Rice arrived in Valparaíso on Wednesday and took charge of

¹²² *Actas de la conferencia metodista*. Valpo 4-11 de febrero 1910.

¹²³ Stuntz's letter to Bristol dated April 7, 1910. Me.L.B. Vol. 155 p. 469.

¹²⁴ Stuntz's letter to Rice dated April 20, 1910. Me.L.B. Vol. 155 p. 497.

¹²⁵ Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 73.

¹²⁶ The copies of *El Cristiano* of this period support this charge.

¹²⁷ Hoover, Op. Cit. pp. 69f.

¹²⁸ Eldon H. Martin, Op. Cit. p. 153 letter of April 17, 1910.

¹²⁹ Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 70.

¹³⁰ Idem. p. 78.

¹³¹ Idem. pp. 80f.;

Stuntz's letter to Rogers dated May 10, 1910. Me.L.B. Vol. 156. p. 19.

¹³² Hoover, Op. Cit. pp. 78f. and p. 71.

¹³³ Idem. pp. 71-73.

the church during the Thursday evening meeting. After the service, according to Hoover more than 400¹³⁴, and according to Campbell between 500 and 600 members left the church never to return¹³⁵. At the beginning of 1911, the majorities of five churches, two in the central region and three in the southern region, together with their pastors also left the Methodist conference¹³⁶ to join the original four Pentecostal churches, three of which had separated from the Methodist churches in Santiago and Valparaíso, and one which had been formed mostly from the independent Presbyterian church in Concepción. Finally in 1913 the sixth Methodist church in Santiago, which had then just been formed, went over to the Pentecostals¹³⁷.

The considered opinion even of those Methodists most able to appreciate the good points in the Pentecostal revival in Chile, was that the movement was doomed to become a struggling sect which would probably collapse within a few years under the weight of its own divisiveness¹³⁸. Instead, to-day the Pentecostal churches outnumber all the other Protestant churches in Chile together, by a ratio of more than four to one. That good and intelligent men could have been so mistaken, is chiefly due to the fact that they were surveying the scene in the wrong perspective. They were so absorbed by the details of the unworthy elements, that they failed to see that the Holy Spirit was arranging these elements, unworthy as they often were in themselves, into a large pattern which did reveal the glory of God. At the time it was most difficult to see that there could be any pattern in the chaotic happenings, but Hoover was right in erring on the side of giving too much liberty, because time was needed for the pattern to manifest itself.

f. The further development of the Methodist church in Chile

In his report to the annual conference at the beginning of 1910 Rice wrote that the second Methodist church in Santiago was back to its normal attendance¹³⁹, and a year later he reported that the difficulties in the Santiago area had been largely overcome¹⁴⁰. Campbell admitted that he was left with only a remnant in Valparaíso, but Bristol declared in an interview that this constituted the best element in that church¹⁴¹. Moisés Torregrosa maintains, however, that the second church in Santiago almost ceased to exist, and that the remnant in Valparaíso consisted of cold and miserly elements¹⁴². According to Arms, writing

¹³⁴ Idem. p. 82.

¹³⁵ Campbell's letter to Stuntz dated July 25, 1910. Me.F. N.Y.

¹³⁶ *Actas de la conferencia metodista*, Concepción, Chile 14-20 de febrero 1911.

¹³⁷ Howland, Op. Cit. p. 157.

Actas, Valpo. 14-19 de febrero 1914.

¹³⁸ Stuntz's letter to Robinson dated July 7, 1910. Me. L.B. Vol. 156. p. 101.

¹³⁹ *Actas*, Valpo. 4-11 de febrero 1910.

¹⁴⁰ *Actas*, Concepción. 14-20 de febrero 1911.

¹⁴¹ *Christian Advocate*, N.Y. Nov. 3, 1910.

¹⁴² Moisés Torregrosa's recollection.

in 1911, the churches in Santiago and Valparaíso were mere shadows of what they had been ¹⁴³. In an attempt to arrive at a more impartial estimate of the effect of the Pentecostal division on Methodism in Chile, it needs to be remembered that the division was localized. The north was unaffected and in the south only certain of the smaller places. The full effect was, therefore, to be seen in Santiago and Valparaíso. Within a few years Santiago had recovered, but in Valparaíso the church never regained the size it had in Hoover's days.

The membership curve reveals that the Pentecostal division caused a noticeable, but not a catastrophic loss in the total membership. The separated members were at first retained on the lists ¹⁴⁴, no doubt in the hope that they would soon return. The statistics, therefore, reveal the loss of members a year after the event. When, however, the graph of Methodist membership in Chile is compared with that of Methodist membership in Peru, it is apparent that an even sharper fall in membership took place in Peru a few years later due to incidental factors. It is very possible, therefore, that the Pentecostal division in Chile merely anticipated by a few years a natural reaction that would have come anyway after years of tremendous growth. If this small difference due to the Pentecostal division is discounted, it appears that the membership graphs for the two countries are remarkably similar in shape. The membership in Chile is everywhere between 3½ and 4 times higher, and this reflects the greater openness in Chile for the appeal of Protestant preaching.

William F. Oldham, who was made bishop in 1916, played a considerable part in the later development of the Methodist church in Chile and did much to restore the confidence of the nationals after the earlier troubles. He encouraged the start of several important projects, among them the agricultural college at "El Vergel". "El Vergel" is a farm of 3,800 acres, lying 80 miles to the south of Concepción which the mission bought in 1919. The object of this venture was to provide a place where Methodist converts could be trained in modern agricultural methods, so that afterwards they would be able to support both their families and their churches at better economic levels. Bishop Oldham believed that once the agricultural college had been established, the labour provided by the students in exchange for their board and tuition, would enable the project to be self-supporting ¹⁴⁵. The farm has paid its running expenses, but all the capital investment needed has come from the United States. Furthermore, although the agricultural college has undoubtedly benefited the nation, it cannot be said to have benefited either the church or the mission. Some men who later became leaders of the church

¹⁴³ *Howland*, Op. Cit. p. 109.

¹⁴⁴ Campbell's letter to Stuntz, dated July 25, 1910. Me.F. N.Y.

¹⁴⁵ Heby Clay Foster, *The Centenary Farm School for Chilean Peasants*. Me.F. N.Y.

were converted at "El Vergel" it is true, but more who went there as Christians came to lose their faith ¹⁴⁶.

The reason for this very partial success lies in a problem which is by no means confined to "El Vergel". As will be seen later, other missions have had even less success in running their farms. The basic difficulty is that when one buys a farm in Chile or Peru, one is more or less obliged to take over the labourers living on that farm. These labourers expect bad treatment from the farm owner, and in order to live have always taken as much as possible for the least amount of work in return. The small amount of work the students could do in the course of their studies was not nearly enough for such a large farm as "El Vergel", and the Methodist mission was, therefore, forced into the position of using the labour of those already living on the farm, while at the same time being very hesitant in applying the rough treatment needed to squeeze an economic amount of work out of them. Far from being appreciative the labourers feel insecure as a result of humane treatment and become increasingly resentful, with the result that the farms run by missions in the two countries under consideration have been neither an economic nor a spiritual success.

In 1924 Oldham urged the missionaries to send a national pastor as Chilean delegate to the General Conference ¹⁴⁷. Around the year 1930, just as in Peru, there was considerable nationalistic feeling among the pastors against the mission and three of them had to be removed from office ¹⁴⁸. As a result of the policy of integration for which Oldham laid foundations, the problem of nationalism has gradually been overcome and as in Peru, the work has expanded considerably in Chile during the last few years. In 1926 Oldham took the initiative for the start of a training centre for deaconesses, known to-day as the Sweet Memorial Institute ¹⁴⁹. In 1928, the closing of the seminary which had been run jointly with the Presbyterians since 1914, was a painful blow to the church. The reason was not economic but that neither church had any prospect of finding suitable candidates for the next five years ¹⁵⁰. It is usual to attribute the decline of the Methodist church in Chile after 1925 to the economic depression ¹⁵¹, but as pointed out in the consideration of the Methodist church in Peru, the cause lay deeper.

Compared to the Methodist congregations in Peru, the Chilean congregations have on an average twice as many members. This will in part be due to the greater urbanization in Chile and in part to the greater response to the preaching of the Gospel. One would expect that it would

¹⁴⁶ Donald Waddell's information and recollection. Waddell was administrator at 'El Vergel' for several years.

¹⁴⁷ Arthur J. Wesley, *Vintage of the years*. Buenos Aires 1956 p. 110.

¹⁴⁸ *Actas de la conferencia metodista*, Concepción, Chile 6-12 de enero 1931.

¹⁴⁹ Arthur J. Wesley, *Op. Cit.* p. 77.

¹⁵⁰ *Idem.*

¹⁵¹ Marion Derby and James E. Ellis, *Latin American Lands in Focus*. N.Y. 1961. p. 100.

be easier to supply pastors for these larger congregations and also that self-support would more easily be achieved than in Peru. To a certain extent this is so, but even in Chile it has not yet been possible to supply every congregation with a pastor or to achieve full self-support. The problems of the Chilean Methodist church resemble very much those of the sister church in Peru, and apart from the greater receptivity in Chile which manifests itself both in the larger membership and in the fact that Chile is always about two years in advance of Peru, as far as changes for good or bad are concerned, the whole development shows considerable similarity.

It is, therefore, difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Pentecostal division has not made so much difference. Even if the Pentecostal division had never taken place, the dearth of ministers and the stagnation of the church in the 1930's, which were caused as in Peru by doctrinal factors, would still have occurred. And people who speculate, as Arms did ¹⁵², on what might have happened if the Pentecostal movement had stayed within the Methodist church, forget that even if the doctrinal hurdle could have been overcome, the nationalistic element present in Chilean Pentecostalism would later have either forced the missionaries to follow Hoover's example and abandon their relationship with New York, or would have provoked a split anyway. Pentecostalism had, therefore, little effect on Methodism, but as will appear later Methodism had very great influence on the Pentecostal movement.

¹⁵² Howland, *Op. Cit.* p. 109.

CHAPTER X

THE ANGLICAN MISSION TO THE ARAUCANIAN INDIANS IN SOUTHERN CHILE

a. The establishment of the work by institutional means

The name Araucanian, which was derived from a word meaning rebel, was given by the Spaniards to the Indians living in Chile and the Argentine. None live up to their name better than the Mapuches from the area to the south of Concepción. They maintained their identity and resisted intrusion from the outside till they were forced to submit to the Chilean government in 1884. As related in the fourth chapter both Allen Gardiner and his son had tried unsuccessfully to reach these Indians. In 1890 Gardiner's grandson also tried to evangelize them, but died of typhoid fever before reaching his destination ¹. Nevertheless the sacrifice was not in vain because in 1890 Tyerman, who had been sent to southern Chile for the spiritual care of the British colonizers there, established a post in Araucanian territory. The reports he gave of these people who were as yet untouched by the Gospel, stirred the South American Missionary society to launch a jubilee appeal in 1894 for the establishment of an Araucanian mission ².

In 1895 four workers arrived in Chile. The leader was Charles A. Sadleir, a clergyman from Canada. An invitation was soon received from some Chilean liberals in Cholchol ³, a small place to the north of Temuco right in the heart of Araucanian country. Services were started there in a store towards the end of that year ⁴. To gain contact with the suspicious Araucanians was, however, not early so easy. The name Mapuche means people of the land, and land was indeed to them their life. After the war of pacification the Chilean government had assigned considerable reservations to the Mapuches, but the colonizers coming in from outside could not resist the temptation to make use of the Mapuche's ignorance of legal matters to deprive them of their valuable land. Sadleir established close contact with some of the Mapuche chiefs and helped them fight the legal battles for the titles to their lands ⁵. In time he completely gained their confidence and came to be known as the "Mapuche rubio" (fair-haired Mapuche). Sadleir was also

¹ *Under the Foothills of the Andes*, S.A.M.S. publication. Lon. 1960 ². p. 17.

² S.A.M.S. *Report* 1893.

³ William Flagg's information.

⁴ *South-American Magazine*, Lon. Nov. 25, 1895.

⁵ S.A.M.S. *Report* 1905/6. p. 77.

a gifted linguist and in 1899, with the help of a converted chief called Ambrosio Paillalef, started translating the Scriptures into Mapuche. Later Sadleir translated the prayer book and produced an Araucanian hymn book ⁶.

The Indians lived in widely scattered settlements and in the first years the workers did a great deal of itineration ⁷. Soon, however, a policy was adopted of establishing central institutions. Wilson, one of the first four workers, started dispensary work in Cholchol in 1896 ⁸. In 1900 a full dispensary was opened in Cholchol and continued to function successfully for 20 years under Wilson's direction ⁹. In 1897 the Chilean government made the mission a grant of 450 acres of farmland at Maquehue (also called Quepe) to the south of Temuco for the establishment of an agricultural college ¹⁰. Bishop Stirling in his second visit to the area, after ripe consideration, also recommended the establishment of a hospital and of school work ¹¹. In 1908 a cottage hospital was commenced at Temuco, but had to be closed in 1916 when the doctor in charge returned to England ¹². The work of boarding schools developed enormously, however, and between the two world wars the mission had six in operation.

The first school was opened in Cholchol at the end of October 1897 with 19 Chilean and 8 Indian boys ¹³. At first it was very difficult to get the Indian boys at all. The parents needed their help on the farm and expected payment in compensation for sending the children to school ¹⁴! The result was that in the beginning the Chilean children paid fees, but the Indian children received board and tuition quite free ¹⁵. Furthermore the Indian boys found it very difficult to adjust to school routine, and during the first few years it was an almost daily occurrence to hear that some had run away ¹⁶. Gradually, however, both parents and young people began to see the value of education, and as the mission felt itself called in the first place to Indian work, the schools soon became entirely Indian. Already in 1905 Sadleir, as superintendent, was protesting that great opportunities among the Chileans were being missed ¹⁷.

Entirely apart from the question of priorities, there was also a great fear throughout the Anglican mission of anything that might resemble proselytism. The decision of the world missionary conference at Edin-

⁶ *South-American Magazine*, Jan. 1936. p. 11.

⁷ *Under the Foothills of the Andes*.

⁸ *Idem*.

⁹ *S.A.M.S. Report*, 1930.

¹⁰ *S.A.M.S. Report*, 1903.

¹¹ *South-American Magazine*, April 1897.

¹² *S.A.M.S. Report*, 1930.

¹³ *S.A.M.S. Report*, 1898.

¹⁴ William Flagg's information.

¹⁵ *S.A.M.S. Report*, 1899.

¹⁶ *S.A.M.S. Report*, 1932.

¹⁷ *S.A.M.S. Report*, 1905/6 p. 83.

burgh in 1910 not to consider South America as a suitable terrain for Protestant missionary effort reinforced this tendency, but as the Indians were acknowledged to be heathen, the mission felt that its work among them was legitimate. Already in 1900, however, Roman Catholic priests were trying to draw away Indian lads to their schools by also offering free education¹⁸. Consequently Sadleir warned that it would be necessary to proceed very cautiously with attempts to establish the schools on a self-supporting basis¹⁹. The result was that soon the Roman Catholics, the State, and the Anglicans were all seeking to woo the Indian with the "bait" of free education²⁰. At a time when the Indians did not appreciate their need of education and when, in view of their inevitable assimilation into Chilean life, it was urgent for their own sakes that they should be educated, the mission was right in offering them free board and tuition. But to continue granting free education after this first phase had passed was to rob the educational work of its character of a service and make it little more than a bait in the scramble to get the maximum number of converts for one's own church.

The result of a wrongly understood fear of proselytism was, therefore, to ensnare the mission in the very danger it wished to avoid. It is true that in Temuco and Cholchol the mission had always accepted a certain number of Chileans into its schools²¹, but this was a by-product of the work undertaken for the Indians and not a result of the policy advocated by Allen Gardiner of helping both sections of the community. Only in 1960 did the mission start work which was specifically directed towards the Chileans²². In that year a station was established in Valparaíso and in the following year work was started in Santiago and Concepción. Fortunately the Anglican mission now officially recognizes its responsibility for sharing in the evangelization of all who need the Gospel in South America without distinction of race. The danger of proselytism cannot be avoided by restricting oneself to certain areas or groups of people, but only by maintaining a spirit of service in all that one does. The Anglican mission performed a real service to the Araucanians by pioneering education among them. Once the idea had caught on, they should have charged realistic fees. If some of their schools had then survived, it would have proved that they were continuing to render a real service, and if the schools had collapsed, the mission's limited resources could have been used for pioneering new forms of service.

The policy of free education soon placed an impossible burden on mission resources. Already in 1913 the boarders at Cholchol were made to pay a sack of wheat towards the expenses of their schooling²³, but

¹⁸ S.A.M.S. *Reports*, for 1900 and 1901.

¹⁹ S.A.M.S. *Report*, 1901 p. 88.

²⁰ *South-American Magazine*, Sept. Oct. 1944. p. 51.

²¹ Douglas Milmine's letter to the writer dated April 14, 1966.

²² S.A.M.S. *Report*, 1960 p. 11.

²³ S.A.M.S. *Report*, 1913/4.

the schooling at Quepe continued to be quite free²⁴. When similar contributions were eventually demanded in Quepe considerable difficulties arose and for a time the boarding school there was closed²⁵. Eventually the parents became willing to give a small fee, and these contributions together with grants from the government which were already being paid in 1911²⁶, lightened the burden sufficiently for the boys' and girls' boarding schools at Cholchol, Temuco and Quepe to be carried on by the mission till the Second World War²⁷, when the restrictions on the transfer of money to Chile made it imperative to effect drastic economies. Then two co-educational day schools were continued at Cholchol and Quepe, and once the parents had recovered from the shock of paying quadrupled fees for living expenses, boarding sections were added²⁸. In 1948 they were both abandoned²⁹, although recently the school at Cholchol has again been taking boarders. The boarding schools had, however, given rise to a most important development. In 1909 two ex-students of the Cholchol school established a rural school in their own settlement, putting up a simple building by their own efforts and themselves giving the lessons³⁰. This movement soon spread widely so that by 1928 Cholchol had 13 outstations, Quepe 6 and Temuco 4³¹, and ten years later the total had risen to 40³². Generally speaking the mission paid the salary of the local teacher on the understanding that he take Sunday services in the school building³³. This put a heavy burden on these teachers, but while the mission was fully responsible for their salaries things went fairly well³⁴. In 1920, however, the universal education law was passed and the Chilean government made subsidies available to cover the salaries of qualified teachers³⁵ on the basis of the number of pupils in each school.

Qualified teachers were, therefore, exposed to the temptation of exaggerating the number of their pupils and as the mission was still responsible for the administration this led to many difficulties³⁶. In the end about half of the teachers disassociated themselves from the mission and started working directly for the government³⁷. Several of the other teachers were godly men who did not possess the needed secondary education, and whose schools gradually petered out or were closed by

²⁴ Idem, 1915/6.

²⁵ Idem, 1917/8.

²⁶ Idem, 1911/2.

²⁷ Idem, 1941.

²⁸ Idem, 1942.

²⁹ *South-American Magazine*, Mar./April 1948.

³⁰ S.A.M.S. Report, 1909/10.

³¹ Idem, 1928/9.

³² *South-American Magazine*, Aug. 1938 p. 125.

³³ S.A.M.S. Reports, 1932 and 1948 p. 9.

³⁴ William Flagg's information.

³⁵ S.A.M.S. Report, 1921/2.

³⁶ Douglas Milmine's information.

³⁷ William Flagg's information.

the government inspectors³⁸. In the period after 1948 the mission was so short-staffed that it could no longer deal with the administrative difficulties and all the remaining rural schools were handed over to government control³⁹. In 1952 the agricultural college at Quepe was also closed⁴⁰. One last attempt was made to revive the educational programme of the mission when a secondary school was opened in Cholchol in 1958⁴¹, but in 1963 this had to close chiefly because the mission was not able to supply teachers with sufficient qualifications⁴². Thus to-day the mission has only two primary schools left, one at Cholchol and the other at Quepe, beside two hostels in Temuco for Christian young people wishing to study in the Temuco state secondary schools⁴³.

b. The struggle to establish an indigenous ministry in Araucania

In 1905 the bishop recommended that a separate class should be instituted at one of the boarding schools for the training of native evangelists, and that Sadleir, whose influence with the Mapuches was unique, should devote himself to this task⁴⁴. Sadleir in his report as superintendent admitted that the training of evangelists was an urgent problem, but added that the young men suitable for such training could not be spared from the work at that moment. He hoped, therefore, that the bishop would grant facilities to enable these young men to continue their present work and qualify themselves gradually for ordination⁴⁵. There was undoubtedly truth in Sadleir's reply and yet the impression remains among those who succeeded him that Sadleir was so involved in his efforts to help the Mapuches with their legal battles that he could not find the time to attend to this other need⁴⁶. The result was that nothing was done. In 1912 a report about the mission pointed out that the lack of a provision for training native workers was one of its weakest points⁴⁷. The result was that as the rural schools around Cholchol extended themselves it soon became impossible for the missionaries to visit these groups frequently enough for a proper maintenance of their spiritual life⁴⁸.

In 1920, when the government started subsidizing rural schools on condition that the teachers have a secondary education, the mission set

³⁸ *South-American Magazine*, Sept./Oct. 1944, and Nov./Dec. 1953.

³⁹ Milmine's information.

⁴⁰ S.A.M.S. *Report*, 1952. (The college was opened again in 1956, but finally closed in 1960).

⁴¹ *Idem*, 1958.

⁴² *Idem*, 1963.

⁴³ *Sent* (Organ of the S.A.M.S.), Lon. May/June 1965. p. 10.

⁴⁴ S.A.M.S. *Report*, 1905/6. p. 76.

⁴⁵ *Idem*, p. 82.

⁴⁶ *Idem*, p. 77;

William Flaggs' information.

⁴⁷ *South-American Magazine*, Lon. May. 1912.

⁴⁸ S.A.M.S. *Reports*, 1915/6 and 1918/9.

up a hostel in the disused hospital in Temuco, so that ex-pupils of the primary schools could continue their studies at a secondary school. Wilson was put in charge of this hostel, with the intention that he should train the boys put in his charge not only to be teachers, but to be evangelists as well ⁴⁹. Some native evangelists were indeed produced in this manner, including two who were later ordained ⁵⁰, but unfortunately the great majority of the boys who went to the hostel did so merely with the intention of improving their education ⁵¹. It was then felt that the town life of Temuco provided too many distractions and that the boys would be more willing to devote themselves to evangelism if they were trained in a rural atmosphere to which they were more accustomed. Accordingly the training centre was moved in 1933 to a place near Quepe ⁵², but nothing more is reported of this venture. In 1941 an attempt was made to restart the evangelists' school at Quepe itself ⁵³, but this effort also proved abortive, thus making it plain that the distractions of town life were only a secondary complication.

In the early years of the rural schools the teachers undoubtedly did good work in proclaiming the Gospel in their settlements, but soon teachers either started attending only to their educational work ⁵⁴, or involved themselves unduly in local politics ⁵⁵, or, in the best cases, regarded the church as an extra class to their school ⁵⁶. These problems were attributed partly to the fact that pupils were leaving the mission schools at a much earlier age than at first, when their characters were still immature ⁵⁷, and partly to the fact that some of the teachers showed signs of never having really understood the Gospel ⁵⁸. The purpose of the hostel at Temuco was precisely to solve, or at least alleviate these two problems, and the fact the hostel did not achieve its object in spite of Wilson's devotion, shows that the real problem lay still deeper. In the early days when both education and the Gospel were strange to the Indians, the native workers stood outside the community on both accounts and found little difficulty in reconciling their two functions of teacher and evangelist. When, however, the Indian settlements fully incorporated education into their communal life, but not the Gospel, these workers found their two functions to be fundamentally opposed to each other.

After the mission had pioneered education, it should have concen-

⁴⁹ Idem, 1920/1.

⁵⁰ *South-American Magazine*, Feb. 1939. p. 19.

⁵¹ Idem, Sept./Oct. 1943. p. 42.

⁵² S.A.M.S. Report, 1933. p. 51.

⁵³ Idem, 1941. p. 17.

⁵⁴ *South-American Magazine*, May/June 1950. p. 36.

⁵⁵ Idem, Sept./Oct. 1944. p. 52;

S.A.M.S. Report, 1948. p. 11.

⁵⁶ Reginald Bartle's information.

⁵⁷ *South-American Magazine*, Sept./Oct. 1944. p. 51.

⁵⁸ Idem, May/June, 1940. p. 36;

S.A.M.S. Report, 1941. p. 17.

trated its meagre resources on the task of training and supporting native evangelists. Only in 1940 did the mission decide to employ a full-time evangelist to visit the schools, and the account given states that two more such evangelists were needed immediately, but were not available⁵⁹. Three years later it was reported that an evangelist, who had been made a lay reader in 1942⁶⁰, was doing much for the church by his life and simple Gospel message, but that he would need considerable extra teaching if his ordination was ever to be considered⁶¹. Yet a few months later mention was made of the need to give the native teachers the standing of lay readership in order that they might be able to do more on the spiritual side of the work⁶². The confusion between teachers and evangelists had evidently still not entirely disappeared. Teachers already had a secular standing and to add to this the same standing as that enjoyed by the evangelists, would make teachers more important than evangelists. Teachers could then discount the importance of the evangelist's visits. If teachers were to be given some standing in the mission, then the evangelists should have a correspondingly higher standing. Yet this was denied them on the grounds that they did not have the necessary educational qualifications.

Once it was recognized that teachers and evangelists could not be trained together, and that their functions were different, then it should also have been recognized that it was wrong to demand of the evangelists, as a condition for their ordination, something that was inherent in the qualification and the work of a teacher. For a long time Evans, who was appointed bishop in Buenos Aires after the Second World War, was not willing to ordain Mapuches because of their lack of educational qualifications. Yet in the last years of his life Bishop Evans entirely revised his opinion and declared himself willing to ordain any Indian who would be able to lift his brethren⁶³. This statement referred to the Chaco mission in the Argentine, but applied equally to the Araucanian work. In November 1960 Bishop Evans conducted the first ordination service to be held in Araucania for 18 years. On this occasion one Indian was made a deacon and nearly two years later, just before this bishop was killed in a sad accident he ordained four Chileans to the priesthood⁶⁴. These were the first Chileans to be raised to the priesthood after Segundo Cayul had been so ordained in 1942⁶⁵. Since then more ordinations have taken place and although the number of national ministers is still quite inadequate for the 26 churches that have been established in the last few years⁶⁶, at long last priority is being given to this vital problem.

⁵⁹ *South-American Magazine*, May/June 1940. p. 36.

⁶⁰ *S.A.M.S. Report*, 1942.

⁶¹ *South-American Magazine*, May/June 1943. p. 21.

⁶² *Idem*, Sept./Oct. 1943. p. 42.

⁶³ Henry Sutton's recollection.

⁶⁴ *S.A.M.S. Reports*, 1960 and 1962.

⁶⁵ *South-American Magazine*, May/June 1943. p. 21.

⁶⁶ Reginald Bartle's information.

c. The decline and revival of the Anglican mission in Chile

The number of rural schools which reached a maximum of 40 in 1938 ⁶⁷, had declined to 28 by 1941 ⁶⁸, and to nothing by 1952. Had it not been for Miss Strugnell's visits with the caravan ⁶⁹, the decline would have been even more rapid. After her marriage to Wilson in 1941, they engaged in this visitation work together ⁷⁰. The major cause was the lack of a national ministry, but the difficulties at the Quepe farm certainly contributed to the downward trend. In the eyes of the Indians, possession of a large and beautiful farm put the mission in the place of the hated large landowners ⁷¹. The fact that the mission operated a store at Quepe provided further occasions for conflict ⁷². A spirit of resentment was built up which led to an open revolt just before the Second World War ⁷³ in which all the interior fittings of the boys' boarding school were smashed, and to hostile demonstrations in 1957 ⁷⁴. The rural groups around Quepe fell away to a much greater extent than around Cholchol ⁷⁵, and at one stage the services at Quepe were attended by only four people ⁷⁶.

In 1952, Anthony J. Barratt, one of the first of the stream of new recruits who went to Chile after the war, arrived in Cholchol ⁷⁷. Instead of devoting himself to institutional work he concentrated all his energies on evangelistic work. In 1953 he started an evening Bible school for the training of native evangelists ⁷⁸, and in the following years held a series of evangelistic campaigns with their help. A few campaigns were also held with a native evangelist borrowed from another church ⁷⁹. As a result of this evangelistic activity old groups were revived and new ones started ⁸⁰. After 1957 spiritual life declined a little because there was still too great a tendency to depend on the missionary ⁸¹, but recently there has been a fresh surge forward ⁸². The history of the Anglican mission in Chile since 1952 is full of interest, although it is as yet too early to assess all the aspects of the development.

Unfortunately the Quepe farm has continued to be a problem. In 1955 Barratt reported that God had blown on the place with the breath

⁶⁷ *South-American Magazine*, Aug. 1938. p. 125.

⁶⁸ *S.A.M.S. Report*, 1941. p. 17.

⁶⁹ *South-American Magazine*, Sept. 1936. p. 119.

⁷⁰ *Idem*, July/Aug. 1941. p. 39.

⁷¹ *S.A.M.S. Report*, 1955. p. 7;

South-American Magazine, July/Aug. 1957. p. 54.

⁷² Flagg's information.

⁷³ *S.A.M.S. Report*, 1941. p. 17.

⁷⁴ *South-American Magazine*, July/Aug. 1958. p. 58.

⁷⁵ Flagg's information and recollection.

⁷⁶ Milmine's recollection.

⁷⁷ *S.A.M.S. Report*, 1952.

⁷⁸ *Idem*, 1953.

⁷⁹ *South-American Magazine*, Nov./Dec. 1955. p. 85.

⁸⁰ *S.A.M.S. Report*, 1955. p. 10.

⁸¹ Thomas Curtis' information and recollection.

⁸² Bartle's information and recollection.

of revival ⁸³. However, the hostile demonstrations of 1957 showed that this report was too optimistic. In March 1959 a freak storm almost totally destroyed the harvest at Quepe, and this together with other difficulties, made a reorganization of the administration necessary ⁸⁴. In 1962 it was decided to make Quepe a Bible and conference centre, which would be supported by the agricultural earnings ⁸⁵. The difficulties which seem to be inherent in the administration of mission farms in Peru and Chile, make this goal hard to realize, and the Quepe farm continues to be a drain on the manpower, if not the financial resources of the mission. Another problem is how best to train a native ministry. In 1955 three students from the Anglican church were enrolled at the C. M. A. Bible institute at Temuco ⁸⁶ and in 1958 a simple Bible training course was started at the Quepe farm, which gave the students more opportunity of working for their keep ⁸⁷. The above-mentioned agricultural and administrative crisis of 1959 at Quepe, forced a temporary closure of these courses, but since then they have been held for three or four months every year ⁸⁸. The difficulty is that the lay leaders of churches do not find it easy to make themselves free for such an extended period, but where they have been able to do so, the training has proved to be invaluable to them. Most of those who attend are the younger members of the congregations and it is hoped that in due course these will be able to take part in church work.

On November 27, 1963 Kenneth W. Howell was enthroned in Santiago ⁹⁰ as the first Anglican bishop in Chile, Peru and Bolivia ⁹¹, and this has meant that for the first time a bishop is in almost daily touch with the development of the work. As soon as any members in the new groups are fit for such responsibility, they are being licensed as lay readers ⁹², and in a very few cases ordained native ministers are now in charge of local churches. Prior to this latest development the local groups always elected a church council with a president to govern themselves ⁹³. In Quepe, where previously a missionary had always been in charge, a native ordained minister is now president of the council, and the council is happy to follow his lead, but in Zanja, where the church

⁸³ S.A.M.S. *Report*, 1955. p. 7.

⁸⁴ *Idem*, 1959.

⁸⁵ *Idem*, 1962. p. 15.

⁸⁶ *Idem*, 1955. p. 7;

Milmine's letter to the writer dated April 14, 1966.

⁸⁷ S.A.M.S. *Report*, 1958.

South-American Magazine, July/Aug. 1958. p. 58.

⁸⁸ S.A.M.S. *Report*, 1962. p. 15;

Idem, 1963.

Sent, May/June 1965. p. 10.

⁸⁹ Milmine's information and recollection.

Bartle's information and recollection.

⁹⁰ *Sent*, Mar./April 1964.

⁹¹ S.A.M.S. *Report*, 1963.

⁹² Milmine's information.

⁹³ Curtis' information.

council has a long and independent history, the ordained minister is not the president and has to some extent to submit to the instructions of the council ⁹⁴. The feeling of personal responsibility, which the church members now have, will be undermined if all power is concentrated in the hands of the ordained ministers, and yet the churches in Peru and Chile need a certain degree of authoritarian leadership for their proper development. Both this problem and that of the training of a native ministry have occupied the attention of many other churches in Peru and Chile and will be examined at greater length later on.

⁹⁴ Bartle's information.

THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MISSION IN PERU

a. The boys' school in Lima

John A. Mackay of the F.C.S. left Scotland to complete his studies at the Princeton Theological seminary in the United States and while there he volunteered to undertake missionary work for his church in South America ¹. In 1915, upon completion of his studies, the Foreign Missions committee of the F.C.S. asked him to make an exploratory tour of some cities in South America. Mackay found that the standard of education in the Roman Catholic schools in Lima left much to be desired ² and recommended the establishment of a school there similar to the Instituto Inglés in Santiago. With this in view he also recommended the F.C.S. to guarantee the rent for a small primary school which had been started by E.U.S.A. missionaries in August 1913 in Lima, but which was then in danger of being closed for lack of funds ³. This school had started with only 15 pupils ⁴, but three years later the enrolment had increased to 80 and it was being attended by the children of well-to-do Peruvians ⁵. Nevertheless since the E.U.S.A. Board in London was unwilling to provide more adequate financial support, John Ritchie, who was then E.U.S.A. superintendent in Lima, offered the school to Mackay as a nucleus for the institution he wished to establish ⁶.

Mackay returned to Scotland and on August 1, 1916 he was set apart by the Presbytery of Inverness for service in South America. He arrived in Lima with his wife on November 21 of that year and took over the school as arranged ⁷. A member of the original teaching staff remained titular head while he obtained the necessary recognition from the authorities. The school grew rapidly and three years later the enrolment had risen to 260, making it necessary to find a larger building. Since in contrast to other mission schools in Peru, the Anglo-Peruvian College, as it was then called, followed the official programme of studies, many boys who wished to enter the professions were attracted to it ⁸. In their

¹ *Report to the 1914 G.A.F.C.S.*

² *Free Church Missionary Enterprise*, Published by the Foreign Missions Committee Edinburgh 1949. p. 47.

³ *Report to the 1916 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 666.

⁴ *South America* (Organ of the E.U.S.A.), Lon. May 1915. p. 22.

⁵ *Report to the 1917 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 837.

⁶ *Report to the 1916 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 666.

⁷ *Report to the 1917 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 837.

⁸ *Free Church Missionary Enterprise*, p. 48.

home in Miraflores the Mackays set up a boarding department for boys from the provinces, but this was later transferred to a separate building which was inaugurated in 1920⁹. A secondary department was also added¹⁰. In order to make contact with the young intellectuals of the nation, Mackay enrolled in San Marcos university, where he gained a doctorate in philosophy, and one of his greatest contributions to the school was that he built up a Peruvian teaching staff of high academic distinction¹¹, eight of which later became well-known in Peruvian affairs¹².

Nor was the evangelistic aspect neglected. Mackay started holding services in his own home¹³, but these were later discontinued when they were found to be an obstacle to contact with the social class at which he was aiming¹⁴. Special instruction in religious knowledge was, however, given at the school and each morning the pupils met for an assembly which included a short religious address. In 1924 a Sunday school was started which had an enrolment of 30 boys, drawn mostly from Roman Catholic homes. Nevertheless neither Mackay nor his successors fell into the error made in the Instituto Inglés in Santiago of trying to turn the school into an evangelizing agency. From the start the object of the school was to wield "evangelical influence"¹⁵ and to maintain high academic and moral standards. The religious exercises of the school have been directed towards these ends, and evangelistic efforts have been conducted on a voluntary basis outside regular school hours.

Mackay adopted a policy of granting the children of Evangelical parents a rebate of between one third and one half of the tuition fees according to the circumstances¹⁶, and this policy has been continued by his successors. Nevertheless the school fees have been too high for many Protestant parents. Boys, whose parents could afford the fees, came mostly from a background where the social ostracism of Protestants made an open connection with the Evangelical cause difficult, if not impossible. Consequently until recently the school has made little direct contribution to the Protestant churches and until 1950 it was not directly connected to any local church. In 1960 a separate church building was inaugurated¹⁷, but before that Protestant services were held in the school chapel on Sundays. Attendance used to be small¹⁸, and apart from the foreign staff, few of the teachers and hardly any of the boys attended. Other bodies were considered to be responsible for evangelism

⁹ *Report to the 1921 G.A.F.C.S.*

¹⁰ *Report to the 1918 G.A.F.C.S. (plans for 1919).*

¹¹ *Free Church Missionary Enterprise*, p. 48.

¹² Herbert Money's information.

¹³ *Report to the 1917 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 837.

¹⁴ *Report to the 1919 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 100.

¹⁵ *Free Church Missionary Enterprise*, pp. 47 f.

¹⁶ *Report to the 1920 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 473.

¹⁷ *Report to the 1961 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 22.

¹⁸ *From the Frontiers* (Organ of the Foreign Missions Committee of the F.C.S.), Mar. 1964. p. 21.

in the Lima area. This separation of church and school, which recently has been a cause of concern to the mission staff, was probably a blessing in disguise, because there has been little occasion for confusing the function of a school with that of a church and as a result the school has served the nation well. Many of those holding posts of responsibility in Peru to-day have received their training there.

In the years following the First World War, the college was involved in the emergence of a movement which has profoundly affected the nation. In 1919 Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre, a student with whom Mackay was in close touch and who was considerably influenced both by Mackay's ideas and by the reading of the Bible which Mackay gave him, was elected president of the student federation at San Marcos university. In 1920 Haya, together with a group of fellow students, founded a People's University with the object of bringing the elements of useful information to the masses. Night after night for several years classes were held in the students' federation building in Lima and also in Vitarte, a small textile manufacturing town near the capital. Special emphasis was placed on total abstinence and a deep impression was made on Vitarte which had previously been noted for its drunkenness and crime. The workers who had traditionally regarded the students as belonging to the class of their enemies, soon placed unreserved confidence in Haya and a Student-Worker Entente was formed. The new movement pleaded with impassioned disinterestedness for social justice, and among other things took up the cause of the oppressed Indians¹⁹.

The strength of the new movement became apparent in 1923. In spite of protests from many quarters, the government had resolved to consecrate Peru to an immense image of the sacred heart of Jesus on May 23. This step was meant to prepare the way for the signing of a concordat with the Vatican which would have obliged the Peruvian government to make a considerable annual contribution to the church treasury in Rome and to annul all laws repugnant to the Vatican. On the eve of the date fixed for the ceremony the Student-Worker Entente organized a gigantic demonstration which obliged the government to abandon its purpose. Haya de la Torre, who was at this time a teacher at the Anglo-Peruvian College, took refuge in the boarding department²⁰. When the Peruvian government declared publicly that Haya de la Torre's liberty of action would not be interfered with, Mackay at the invitation of the Young Man's Christian Association felt that he could set off on an evangelistic tour of several South American universities²¹. Under Leguía's dictatorship, however, justice was arbitrary and on October 2 Haya was arrested by the secret police and shortly afterwards deported

¹⁹ John A. Mackay, *An Introduction to Christian work among South American Students*, *I.R.M.* April 1928. p. 286.

²⁰ *Idem*;

Book Review of Harry Kentor's *Intellectual Renaissance in Latin America*. *I.R.M.* Jan. 1954. p. 221.

²¹ *Report to the 1924 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 1275.

from the country ²². Mackay who was in Santiago at that time, set out for Lima, only to find himself accused of having gone to Chile for the purpose of conducting a campaign of anti-Peruvian political propaganda in the territory of Peru's traditional enemy. Had it not been for the intervention of the British Chargé d'Affaires, Mackay would have been deported as well ²³.

As explained in the first chapter, Haya de la Torre was not able to realize his early ideals and to-day the movement he started has lost much of its early moral caliber and unselfishness ²⁴. Nevertheless the early Apra movement was an attempt to express biblical values in the political climate of Latin America. Protestant missionaries in Peru often regard politics as something which is not the legitimate concern of a Christian, and this attitude has contributed to the failure of the Evangelical churches to grapple with the country's political problems. The writer believes that Mackay was right in supporting Haya de la Torre's early movement in spite of the fact that the government came to regard the school as a hotbed of political activity ²⁵, and started to view both it and its headmaster with considerable suspicion.

In 1924 the M.E. church decided to close its boys' secondary school in Lima and to entrust its pupils in future to the Colegio Anglo Peruano ²⁶. As in Santiago the secondary education for boys in the capital came to rest entirely in Presbyterian hands, while the Methodists concentrated on a secondary school for girls. In 1925 Mackay felt called to student work throughout Latin America under the auspices of the Young Man's Christian Association and left Lima. The school was then taken over by A. M. Renwick. He found that the boarding section involved too much work and regretfully closed it down ²⁷. In the years 1928 and 1929 the school experienced a crisis. The cost of operation was high and new buildings were urgently needed. For a time the General Assembly of the F.C.S. seriously considered closing the school ²⁸. In the midst of this crisis Leguía issued a decree in June 1929 making Roman Catholic religious instruction obligatory in all approved schools ²⁹. Thanks to the intervention of the British Minister the college was exempted from this decree which in any case became a dead letter after Leguía's fall in 1931 ³⁰.

Fortunately the General Assembly decided to continue the college and

²² Book Review of Harry Kentor's *Intellectual Renaissance in Latin America*. *I.R.M.* Jan. 1954. p. 221.

²³ *Report to the 1924 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 1273.

²⁴ Murray Dickson, *Latin American Youth*. *Practical Anthropology* 1960.

²⁵ *Report to the 1931 G.A.F.C.S.*

²⁶ *Report to the 1925 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 114.

²⁷ *Report to the 1926 G.A.F.C.S.*

²⁸ *Report to the 1929 G.A.F.C.S.*

²⁹ Webster Browning, John Ritchie and Kenneth Grubb, *The West Coast Republics of South America*. Lon. 1930. p. 95.

³⁰ John Mackay, *The Missionary Significance of the last ten years. A Survey of Latin America*, *I.R.M.* July 1932. p. 319.

erect new premises, the present buildings being officially opened on March 22, 1930³¹. When a law was passed forbidding educational institutions in Peru to have foreign names, in order to continue the Scottish association, the name of the school was changed to San Andrés³², Scotland's patron saint. In 1953 ways of more direct evangelism were again under consideration. A Scripture Union³³ branch was organized in the school, and since 1954 boys have been coming early to school to read and meditate over the allotted portion of Scripture³⁴. In 1954 during the long vacation a canvas camp was held under the auspices of the Scripture Union³⁵. These camps are now attended by boys from other secondary schools and similar camps for girls have also been started. By means of these purely voluntary activities outside school hours, in which the San Andrés missionary staff co-operates with people who have no connection with the school, a valuable contribution is being made to the Protestant cause in Peru.

b. The church work of the F.C.S. in Cajamarca

Although no one was as yet available for the task, the Committee for Co-operation in Peru, to which reference has been made in the seventh chapter, decided in 1917 to allocate northern Peru to the F.C.S.³⁶. In 1919 Calvin Mackay³⁷ sailed for Peru, and after a period of language study in Lima³⁸, moved to Cajamarca with his family in July 1921. He started evangelistic meetings in the house of one, Alejandro Llanos, who lived in a small village outside Cajamarca³⁹ and had been converted through the Nazarene mission in Monsefú⁴⁰. In the town of Cajamarca itself Calvin Mackay had temporarily to content himself with the opening of a reading room for college students⁴¹, while Sarah MacDougall, who had previously worked as a matron in a Lima hospital⁴², started a clinic⁴³. Because of the discrimination practised against the children of Evangelicals by Roman Catholic teachers in the public day schools, Mrs. Calvin Mackay established a primary school which was taken over in 1924 by Christina Mackay. This school was

³¹ *Report to the 1930 G.A.F.C.S.*

³² *Report to the 1942 G.A.F.C.S.*

³³ The Scripture Union is an international organization, which publishes notes to help in personal consecutive Bible reading. In many countries it also organizes camps and other evangelistic activities for young people.

³⁴ *Report to the 1954 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 45.

³⁵ *Idem*, p. 29.

³⁶ *Report to the 1918 G.A.F.C.S.*

³⁷ The F.C.S. mission in Peru was jokingly referred to as the Mackay mission, because so many of its workers shared this surname. Except in two cases there was no family relationship.

³⁸ *Report to the 1920 G.A.F.C.S.*

³⁹ *Free Church Missionary Enterprise*, p. 54.

⁴⁰ *Report to the 1940 G.A.F.C.S.*

⁴¹ *Free Church Missionary Enterprise*, p. 56.

⁴² *Report to the 1921 G.A.F.C.S.*

⁴³ *Report to the 1922 G.A.F.C.S.*

well appreciated and a public request was made to the mission that a secondary department for girls be added ⁴⁴. The Foreign Missions committee felt, however, that the school was absorbing energies that should go into evangelism, and rather than approve of this request ⁴⁵ closed the school altogether in 1933 ⁴⁶. It is a little difficult to correlate the policy followed in Lima during these years with that in Cajamarca, but presumably the mission felt that during the years of economic depression, it should reduce its staff at those places where it had made the smallest capital investments in property. Another reason was that Calvin Mackay was more influenced than Renwick by the indigenous principles being propagated at this time by the E.U.S.A. and the C.M.A. which advocated the closing of mission schools.

The Nazarene mission had also started working in the Cajamarca area, but under the auspices of the Committee on Co-operation an agreement was reached to delineate the territories ⁴⁷. In 1929 Calvin Mackay was able to ordain two national elders ⁴⁸, and the church began to grow rapidly. On occasions Calvin Mackay drew congregations of up to 600 people and in January 1936 a large church building was inaugurated ⁴⁹. Unfortunately the work was neither self-supporting nor self-governing. Most of the church expenses were paid from mission funds and from time to time mission boxes were sent out from Scotland for the "poor Indians". The members of the congregation far from learning to give proper support to the church, came to view their religion primarily as a matter of receiving and not of giving. The government of the church was also in foreign hands. The native elders were not entitled to administer the sacraments and the mission insisted on such high standards of education before ordaining them as pastors that they had no hope of ever playing more than a secondary role in the direction of the church.

Both these weaknesses manifested themselves when Calvin Mackay became ill and had to leave the field, shortly before the completion of the new church building. Calvin Mackay's successors were not men of the same ability, and the native workers who felt themselves to be little more than mission employees, often showed more interest in collecting their allowances than in building up the work. The disproportion between the church building and the size of the congregation was a further disadvantage ⁵⁰. Under these circumstances the congregation in Cajamarca started falling apart and the missions working in the neighbouring areas no longer felt bound by the delineation agreement. In the town of Cajamarca nearly all the members have now been absorbed by

⁴⁴ *Free Church Missionary Enterprise*, p. 62.

⁴⁵ *Report to the 1928 G.A.F.C.S.*

⁴⁶ *Free Church Missionary Enterprise*, p. 62.

⁴⁷ *Report to the 1922 G.A.F.C.S.*

⁴⁸ *Report to the 1930 G.A.F.C.S.*

⁴⁹ *Free Church Missionary Enterprise*, p. 59.

⁵⁰ Money's information.

other denominations, so that the F.C.S. is starting there from the beginning again, but in the surrounding region 17 groups still remain ⁵¹.

While Annie Soper was working under the auspices of the E.U.S.A. as a sister tutor in one of the hospitals in Lima ⁵², she heard someone speak of the spiritual need of Moyobamba ⁵³, a place on the fringe of the Amazonian jungle, 130 miles east of Cajamarca. Miss Soper returned to England on furlough, but no missionary society was as yet prepared to undertake work so deep in the interior of Peru ⁵⁴, and certainly not with somebody who had just been seriously ill ⁵⁵. Undaunted, Annie Soper borrowed passage money from the E.U.S.A. which she was able to return shortly afterwards and sailed back to Peru. Together with Rhoda Gould, another missionary nurse, who had been working with her in Lima, Miss Soper set out on what proved to be a harrowing journey to Moyobamba, arriving there on July 27, 1922 ⁵⁶. Working with the most meagre resources, the two ladies built up a small hospital and a church, but by the beginning of 1926 through overwork and as a result of malaria they were at the end of their strength. Renwick, who was by then in charge of the F.C.S. school in Lima, appealed for a doctor to help them, with the result that Kenneth Mackay set out for Peru. In Lima the Peruvian government appointed him health officer for the Moyobamba region, and he arrived there on December 5, 1926 ⁵⁷.

The plan was that the Misses Soper and Gould should join the staff of the F.C.S., and for a short time they did so, but the F.C.S. felt unable to accept the responsibility for the six orphans that they had adopted ⁵⁸. Furthermore Moyobamba proved to be too small a place for two such strong personalities as Kenneth Mackay and Annie Soper. The result was that in 1928 Kenneth Mackay took over the work in Moyobamba for the F.C.S. ⁵⁹, and the two lady missionaries went on furlough to seek independent support ⁶⁰. Afterwards they responded to an appeal from the mayor of Lamas ⁶¹, which lies still further in towards the Amazon jungle, and established a remarkable work there, first as the Peruvian Inland Mission and since 1948 as part of the R.B.M.U. ⁶². Kenneth

⁵¹ William Mackay's information.

⁵² *Neglected Continent* (Organ of the E.U.S.A. in Canada), Sept. 1917;

Idem, Dec. 1920;

South America (Organ of the E.U.S.A. in Lon.), July 1919. p. 66 and July 1920. p. 128.

⁵³ Phyllis Thompson, *Dawn Beyond the Andes*. Lon., 1958. p. 11.

⁵⁴ Idem, p. 12.

⁵⁵ *Report to the 1921 G.A.F.C.S.*

⁵⁶ Phyllis Thompson, *Op. Cit.* p. 16.

⁵⁷ *Report to the 1927 G.A.F.C.S.* pp. 589-590 and 596.

⁵⁸ *Free Church Missionary Enterprise*, p. 65.

⁵⁹ *Report to the 1928 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 844;

Report to the 1929 G.A.F.C.S. p. 161.

⁶⁰ Idem;

Phyllis Thompson, *Op. Cit.* pp. 46 f.

⁶¹ *Report to the 1930 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 440;

Phyllis Thompson, *Op. Cit.* p. 53.

⁶² Phyllis Thompson, *Op. Cit.* pp. 108 f.

Mackay further developed the small hospital which had been started in Moyobamba, adding a section for the training of native nurses. This together with the out-patient work, considerably increased the missionary outreach of the hospital ⁶³.

In July 1941 a new church building seating 600 people was opened in Moyobamba by Harold Lindsay, the new doctor who had just taken over from Kenneth Mackay ⁶⁴. Lindsay was determined that the congregation, although poor, should contribute to the cost of the building, and they did so with goodwill covering one tenth of the total outlay ⁶⁵. Unfortunately the work in Moyobamba has since suffered a very serious decline. It is true that as a town Moyobamba's importance has diminished, but the spiritual decline is chiefly due to the same kind of staff difficulties that afflicted the work in Cajamarca ⁶⁶. In 1955 Merri-man of the Peruvian Inland Mission took over the hospital temporarily after Lindsay's departure, but his increasing deafness obliged him to give up his practice and to return to Great Britain ⁶⁷. As the F.C.S. failed in its attempts to find a new doctor, the hospital had to be closed ⁶⁸. Although the work in Moyobamba itself has for the most part ceased to exist, there are still eight groups in the surrounding region as well as another eight groups in the Chachapoyas region which lies between Moyobamba and Cajamarca.

c. The problems of the native church

The F.C.S. mission was conservative in its theological outlook and was for this reason hesitant to co-operate with the M.E. missionaries who were at the time influenced by modernistic views. The Free Church missionaries, therefore, sought co-operation with the two theologically conservative mission bodies working in Central Peru, namely the E.U.S.A. and the C.M.A. whose histories will be sketched in the following chapters. The joint Bible institute in Lima and the joint church magazine called *Renacimiento* (rebirth) were for many years the tangible fruits of the desire for greater unity on the part of these three bodies. The original intention of these three missions was to establish a united indigenous church in Peru, but this ideal was beset with almost insuperable difficulties of a theological as well as of a practical nature and was already dead before the end of the Second World War ⁶⁹.

The chief theological difference between the F.C.S. and the other two theologically conservative missions lay in the doctrine of the church. Whereas the E.U.S.A. and the C.M.A. because of their many Baptist and

⁶³ *Free Church Missionary Enterprise*, p. 66.

⁶⁴ *Report to the 1941 G.A.F.C.S.*

⁶⁵ *Free Church Missionary Enterprise*, p. 66.

⁶⁶ Money's information.

⁶⁷ *Report to the 1955 G.A.F.C.S.*

⁶⁸ *Report to the 1957 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 23.

⁶⁹ Money's information.

Plymouth Brethren connections regarded the church as composed of the sum of the born again believers, the F.C.S. missionaries, because of their strongly Calvinistic background, held to the traditional belief that the church was an organism, which had been handed down from Christ through His apostles, and which now needed to be manifested in the local situation. According to the first view the church is constituted by the personal regeneration of its local members, and consequently church organization is a matter of secondary importance which can safely be entrusted to those who have experience but no theological training. Subsequent to 1929, the E.U.S.A. and the C.M.A. decided on what they considered to be a radical application of Roland Allen's missionary methods in Central Peru, and as will be seen in the following chapters, the affairs of the native church were indeed entrusted to men who had little or no intellectual training. To the F.C.S. missionaries for whom the church was something given on trust, whose form and organization was, therefore, not a matter of indifference, the policy followed by the E.U.S.A. and the C.M.A. was "too rash a development of the indigenous church system". The danger which the F.C.S. missionaries feared, was that a church established in such a manner might lose the necessary similarity to the original organism which Christ had handed down, and that the result might be a "complete subversion of the young church" ⁷⁰.

The instinctive reaction of those who believe that the form of the church is a matter of essential importance is to cling to practices native to their own country and to entrust the direction of the church only to those who have been sufficiently trained to appreciate the importance of a particular church order. All the churches which have been considered in this thesis up to this point have to a certain extent suffered from this instinctive reaction, but in no case so strongly as the F.C.S. Customs and taboos were maintained which were quite irrelevant to the South American scene. The hesitancy to organize church outings and picnics is one example, the preference for psalms set to the traditional Scottish tunes is another and the unwillingness to use any form of musical instrument in the services is a third ⁷¹. Without wishing to, the F.C.S. missionaries often gave an impression of themselves to the Peruvians which entirely belied their inner feelings. One Peruvian evangelist expostulated to the writer about the coldness of the F.C.S. mission and it is clear that many others had something of the same feeling.

As already indicated the development of a national ministry was unsatisfactory. A few young men who volunteered for the ministry were trained at the mission's expense. During the first few years this took place at the Costa Rica Bible institute ⁷² and then after 1933 in the joint

⁷⁰ *Free Church Missionary Enterprise*, p. 69.

⁷¹ *Idem*.

⁷² *Report to the 1931 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 751.

Bible school in Lima ⁷³. One promising young man was even sent to Scotland for training. The number of nationals who could be trained in this way was, however, quite inadequate. Furthermore the way in which these workers were paid was calculated to provoke difficulties. Because the young churches were so poor and could not support their own pastors, the Foreign Missions committee in Edinburgh allocated a sum each year for mission expenses, out of which the missionary "according to his or her judgment paid the local worker engaged" ⁷⁴. This scheme worked well during the first years ⁷⁵, but only because in the remoter regions of Peru the nationalistic spirit was late in developing. In the course of time it was inevitable that the national workers should "begin to make envious comparisons with the salaries and social position of others" ⁷⁶. Furthermore the "native pastors regarded themselves as employees of the mission rather than as pastors of a particular town or district" and limited their activities to the care of their own congregation ⁷⁷.

In the churches considered in this thesis difficulties arose whenever the remuneration of the native workers was under foreign control, and in this case the status of these workers was also a problem. Because they had no real hope of being ordained or of exercising a top function in the church it is only natural that an anti-missionary spirit was fostered among them ⁷⁸. Nevertheless the F.C.S. mission remained extremely reluctant to hand effective authority over to the nationals. As recently as 1960 it was reported that "the committee feels that until the native church reaches a certain maturity it should not have complete control of finances and property. In other words, that the handing over of control shall be a gradual process and that for five years the trustees of the native church be two-thirds British and one third native" ⁷⁹. As will appear in the next chapters, the results of the E.U.S.A. and C.M.A. policy of entrusting the affairs of the church into the hands of untrained men were not particularly good, but they were considerably better than what the F.C.S. mission achieved. Could it be that the E.U.S.A. and the C.M.A. were right in believing that the form of the church was not important, or was the instinctive reaction of the F.C.S. missionaries to the traditional church doctrine at fault?

Whatever the doctrinal differences, the practical mission policy of the F.C.S. in Peru resembled that of the Methodists more than it did that of the E.U.S.A. and the C.M.A. The Methodists had the advantage over the Scottish Presbyterians of having started much earlier, when national-

⁷³ *Report to the 1933 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 374.

⁷⁴ *Report to the 1951 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 299.

⁷⁵ *Free Church Missionary Enterprise*, p. 69.

⁷⁶ *Report to the 1945 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 331;

Report to the 1952 G.A.F.C.S. p. 56.

⁷⁷ *Report to the 1953 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 70.

⁷⁸ *Report to the 1954 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 49.

⁷⁹ *Report to the 1960 G.A.F.C.S.*

ism in Peru was not yet directed against the Anglo-Saxon foreigner. Also Penzotti laid a foundation of voluntary ministry in the Methodist church which never entirely disappeared. Nevertheless both the Methodists and the Scottish Presbyterians were confronted with the problems of nationalism and of professionalism, but whereas the Methodists met and overcame the problem of nationalism by resolutely integrating their mission into the national church, up to the time of writing the F.C.S. mission is still separate from the Presbytery it re-established in 1963 ⁸⁰. In Renwick's time a Presbytery had been organized, but it had been allowed to lapse and for a long time there were not enough ordained men on the field for it to be revived ⁸¹. Neither the Methodists nor the Scottish Presbyterians have succeeded in overcoming the problem of professionalism, but the same must be said of all the churches which have been considered so far in this thesis. Wherever there is an underdevelopment of the lay ministry professionalism cannot be avoided.

After the Second World War it became obvious to Malcolm Macrae, the F.C.S. missionary who was then in charge of the Cajamarca area, that the rural groups could not wait for the establishment of a trained ministry but needed some form of organization immediately ⁸². In 1948 Macrae made proposals for an interim constitution, but these were not in line with the Presbyterian form of church government and so Renwick was asked to re-write them ⁸³. In the meantime an active group in a village called San Marcos decided that it could wait no longer and in 1951 adopted the I.E.P. practice of entrusting the direction of the church into the hands of elders elected annually from their own group. Without consulting the missionary, all the other groups except one, followed suit ⁸⁴ and at one stage it seemed as if almost all of them would go over to the I.E.P. However, in August 1953 Macrae held a meeting of representatives in Cajamarca and presented them with proposals for a new constitution ⁸⁵. After these suggestions had been approved by the Foreign Missions committee they were accepted definitely at a second general meeting held in Cajamarca in 1954. The small churches were given considerable autonomy ⁸⁶ and have remained within the F.C.S. mission. To-day the churches in the main centres, which have received the greatest amount of mission help, but which have also been most directly under mission control, have almost ceased to exist ⁸⁷, while the rural groups, which have received least help from the mission, but have enjoyed the greatest degree of autonomy are in a considerably healthier condition.

⁸⁰ *Report to the 1963 G.A.F.C.S.*

⁸¹ *Report to the 1947 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 118.

⁸² *Idem.*

⁸³ *Report to the 1948 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 296.

⁸⁴ *Report to the 1954 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 321.

⁸⁵ *Report to the 1956 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 53.

⁸⁶ *Report to the 1954 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 322.

⁸⁷ *Report to the 1956 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 52.

In its concern to maintain the right church pattern, the F.C.S. mission failed to give the nascent churches the freedom they needed and by its very generosity it stifled the spirit of self-sacrifice. Macrae saw this clearly⁸⁸, and yet when he adopted measures which were designed to make the Peruvian converts feel their own responsibility⁸⁹, many became embittered and even left the church. This unfortunate result was partly due to mistakes which were made by the missionary concerned and which had nothing to do with the above-mentioned measures. Nevertheless other missions considered in this thesis encountered similar difficulties when they tried to make the members of mission-directed churches assume more responsibility for the work, so that too much must not be made of the personal problems in Cajamarca. Once converts lost the spirit of self-sacrifice which the preaching of the Gospel had implanted in their hearts, in no case which has come to the writer's knowledge has it been possible to restore that original spirit by improvements in organization or by the exercise of mission authority.

The example of the rural groups, where the spirit of self-sacrifice was better maintained, shows that this basic element of the Gospel must have freedom if it is to survive and that this freedom must include the right to change and adapt the historic patterns of the church. Does it then follow that the form of the church is unimportant? The writer believes that what does follow is that the historic forms of the church are not important in themselves, but that they are important as attempts which were made to express God's purpose within a particular situation. The F.C.S. missionaries in Peru clung so tightly to the historic form of the church as it had grown up in Scotland since the time of the Reformation, that in the Peruvian context they failed to express two basic elements of the Gospel, namely that it is meant to reproduce the spirit of self-sacrifice in others and that at the same time its purpose is to place the other in the greatest possible freedom. Especially during the time that John Mackay was headmaster and also in recent years, this consideration applied much less to the San Andrés school. Because of the school's loose connection to the church, the programme was better adapted to local conditions than that of the church and this was undoubtedly a factor of importance in the success that the school achieved.

Many of the missions that will be studied in the following chapters rejected the importance of the historic pattern of the church. This enabled them to adapt themselves much more freely to the local situation, but at the cost of overlooking other vital elements of the Gospel which the church tradition tried to express. A comparison with the missions which are now to be described must also include some mention of the practical outworking of the differences in doctrinal emphasis. It would be unfair to say that the Presbyterians in Peru and Chile did not preach a personal committal to Christ, but the writer does believe that their

⁸⁸ *Report to the 1954 G.A.F.C.S. p. 49.*

⁸⁹ *Report to the 1952 G.A.F.C.S. p. 56.*

emphasis on the sovereignty of God influenced them against making the appeals which characterized the evangelistic preaching of those with an Arminian Evangelical background. The Presbyterians were by no means the only ones who avoided asking that those who wished to accept Christ signify this by raising a hand or by coming forward during the meeting. Juan de Dios Guerrero, the veteran I.E.P. preacher is convinced as a result of his long experience that there is more likelihood of avoiding spurious results if those who are interested are asked to stay behind for prayer after the meeting.

What the Presbyterians seem to have overlooked is that in a country such as Peru, where the Indian's fatalistic attitude to life has had such an influence on the general thinking, the hearers need to be given some active and immediate way of demonstrating their faith. If one is critical of the methods of others then one must provide an alternative, because an inadequate attempt to meet a need is always better than no attempt. That the Presbyterians did not provide such an opportunity was another reason why they did not reap the rewards that their faithful efforts deserved, either in Peru or in Chile. On a more general level it needs to be noted that the practical meaning of Christian truth depends on the circumstances. It is quite possible that the F.C.S. missionaries interpreted the doctrine of the sovereignty of God rightly as far as their homeland was concerned but wrongly in the Peruvian context.

THE EARLY WORK OF THE REGIONS BEYOND MISSIONARY UNION IN PERU

a. The foundation laid by Charles H. Bright

As related at the end of the third chapter, Bright belonged originally to the Plymouth Brethren in England. Because of a division in his assembly he became separated from them ¹, and it was the C.M.A. which paid his passage to Peru. In July 1893, shortly after arriving, he journeyed up the coast to Trujillo, where he met an Englishman who told him of the existence of a meeting for the "breaking of bread" at the Petersen's house in Chucuito (a suburb of the port of Callao). Upon his return, Bright made Mrs. Petersen's acquaintance and was soon preaching in her house to a small Peruvian congregation ². Several people were converted, including Alfonso Muñoz, who attended the Sunday school meetings which Bright also held there ³. In 1894 Bright moved to Lima, but for several months was unable to do more than circulate a magazine called *La Antigua Fe* (the original faith) ⁴. He printed this on a small press that he had brought with him, and took advantage of the facility then existing for distributing periodicals printed within Peru free by mail. Especially in Nazca, the seed sown in this way, fell into fruitful ground ⁵.

In Lima Bright came into contact with three young men, Adam Robert Stark, Frederick J. Peters, and John L. Jarrett, whose interest for Peru had been awakened by the reports of Penzotti's imprisonment. After completing their missionary training at Harley College ⁶, they were unable to interest any British missionary society in their enterprise and set out for the United States in the hope of finding support there ⁷. In this they were eventually successful, and Stark and Peters accompanied Thomas Wood on his return to Peru at the very beginning of 1894 ⁸, and Jarrett followed some six months later ⁹. They were anxious

¹ Bright's letter to Ritchie, dated June 27, 1921 in Herbert Money's possession in Lima.

² Bright's notes, now in Money's possession in Lima.

³ Alfonso Muñoz, *Mis Memorias*. Manuscript in possession of the E.U.S.A. Lon.

⁴ James S. Watson, *Lima, the city of kings*. Lon. 1909. p. 6.

⁵ John Savage, *The Beginnings of Evangelical work in Peru*. Unfinished manuscript in possession of the E.U.S.A. Lon.

⁶ Also called the East London Institute for Home and Foreign Missions. It was founded by Grattan Guinness and was inter-denominational.

⁷ Savage, *Op. Cit.*

⁸ *Regions Beyond*, Organ of the R.B.M.U. Lon. April 1894. p. 163.

⁹ Idem, July 1894. p. 255.

to start meetings and had money to hire a hall, but as yet no command of Spanish. Bright then offered to do the preaching for them ¹⁰, and so beginning on September 2, 1894 services were held in a room which could hold 30 people on a street called Polvos Azules ¹¹. After about a year Stark and the others also wished to preach and this immediately gave rise to difficulties ¹². Bright separated from them and held some meetings in another room ¹³, and then, when he heard that the hall in the Negreiros street which had formerly been used for Anglican services ¹⁴ was to let, he took it, although it cost him almost his last dollar to furnish it ¹⁵.

Bright was a capable preacher and a gifted Bible teacher. He held his first service in the Negreiros hall on April 17, 1896 ¹⁶, and by 1898 he had "some fourteen or fifteen earnest souls in fellowship" ¹⁷. Two years later this number had grown to thirty and it was reported that his work was "very thorough and growing" ¹⁸. From this small congregation unpaid evangelists fanned out all over Peru, and a few years later a map was published showing 99 places which had been visited by them ¹⁹. Henry Backhouse, another Harley college student arrived in Peru in October 1895 ²⁰ and, after having studied the language, he offered his services to Bright. As Bright understood that Backhouse was under no compromise to Harley house, he accepted him as co-labourer ²¹. Bright then visited Great Britain and during his absence Backhouse led the Negreiros meetings ²². However, when Harry Guinness arrived in Peru in September 1897 to re-organize the mission started by the other Harley College students and to affiliate it to the R.B.M.U. ²³, Backhouse decided to join them ²⁴. Such was Bright's fear for even the most tenuous connection with an organization, that this led to a break with Backhouse. The R.B.M.U. then decided to leave Lima to Bright and to Wood, and to concentrate its attentions elsewhere ²⁵.

¹⁰ Watson, Op. Cit. p. 6.

¹¹ John Ritchie, Apuntes para la historia del movimiento evangélico en el Perú durante el primer siglo de la república. Unfinished manuscript in possession of the E.U.S.A. in Lon.;

El Heraldo Evangélico, Stgo. 25 de octubre 1894.

¹² Bright's letter to Ritchie, dated Aug. 15, 1912.

¹³ Ritchie's notes attached to Bright's letter of Aug. 15, 1912.

¹⁴ Watson, Op. Cit. pp. 6 f.

¹⁵ Bright's letter to Ritchie, dated Aug. 15, 1912.

¹⁶ Ritchie, Apuntes...

¹⁷ Mrs. Newell, *For Christ and Cuzco*. Lon. 1904. p. 61.

¹⁸ Idem, p. 121 (Based on a letter of William Newell to his mother, dated March 12, 1900).

¹⁹ Watson, Op. Cit. pp. 6 ff.

²⁰ *Regions Beyond*, Feb. 1896. p. 90.

²¹ Bright's notes in Money's possession. Lima.

²² Ritchie's notes attached to Bright's letter of Aug. 15, 1912.

²³ *Regions Beyond*, June 1898. p. 250;

Mrs. Newell, Op. Cit. p. 152.

²⁴ Bright's notes in Money's possession.

²⁵ Ritchie's notes attached to Bright's letter of Aug. 15, 1912.

As a result of a contact Bright made during his visit to Great Britain in 1897, James S. Watson and Thomas A. Cullen joined him in Lima in 1898. After having learned something of the language, Watson went to Nazca and worked there till 1901²⁶. Unfortunately there was fresh trouble, this time in connection with the ownership of a printing press donated by friends in Scotland²⁷. In order to keep the machine out of the hands of Cullen and Watson, Bright moved to Huacho²⁸, leaving Cullen in charge of the Negreiros meeting. Bright established a work both in Huacho itself and in a farm to the north of the town, but soon felt that things were not going well in Lima. Cullen then went to Ica, and Bright tried to maintain both the meeting in Lima and that in Huacho, but found the expenses involved so high, that towards the end of 1901 he asked Cullen to return to Lima and withdrew definitely to Huacho²⁹. The following year Bright went on to Ecuador taking Alfonso Muñoz with him. There he lost the printing press in a fire and shortly afterwards left for Central America³⁰.

Bright handed over the Negreiros congregation to Cullen on the condition that it never be passed on to any "mission". When Cullen left Peru in 1903³¹ he passed this stipulation on to Watson³², who was left in sole charge of the work. Watson never mastered the language³³ and the work in Lima did not prosper, so that by 1907 he urgently needed help. In spite of the condition that had been laid upon him he decided to ask the R.B.M.U. if he could join them³⁴ and when Bright heard of this he laid a claim to the work in Lima³⁵. The whole matter was then considered by the R.B.M.U. Board in London which decided that Watson should be taken on to the mission staff and that if Bright appeared in Lima, the missionaries there should retire from the Negreiros hall and start work in some other part of the capital³⁶. This incident had three important consequences, firstly, that an R.B.M.U. missionary called Ritchie was transferred to Lima at the end of May 1907 to help Watson, secondly, that the R.B.M.U. was again connected with the work in central Peru, and thirdly, that this mission became linked with a congregation which continued to bear the stamp of Bright, its founder.

²⁶ Ritchie, *Apuntes*.

²⁷ Alfonso Muñoz, *Op. Cit.*

²⁸ Money's information.

²⁹ Bright's letter to Ritchie, dated Aug. 15, 1912.

³⁰ Muñoz, *Op. Cit.*

South America (Organ of the E.U.S.A.), Lon. July 1916. p. 99.

³¹ Watson, *Op. Cit.* p. 6.

³² Bright's letter to Ritchie, dated Aug. 15, 1912.

³³ Juan de Dios Guerrero's recollection.

³⁴ *Regions Beyond*, Aug. 1907. p. 208.

³⁵ R.B.M.U. minute book, 1898-1908, in possession of R.B.M.U. Lon. Entry for Jan. 31, 1908.

³⁶ *Idem*, Entry for Feb. 5, 1908.

b. The assault on Cuzco

The three young pioneers from Harley College stayed first at the Petersens' house in Callao, studying the language³⁷. Stark supported himself by giving English lessons, while Jarrett and Peters taught at Wood's school³⁸. At the end of 1894 they moved to Lima³⁹, where, as had been related, they co-operated for a time with Bright in the religious services which had been started there. Their aim was, however, to press on into the interior⁴⁰, and when early in 1895 they received a gift of 350 pounds from Robert Arthington, the so-called "miser of Hedingley"⁴¹, they felt that God was opening the way for them. Peters later wrote that "contrary to Arthington's usual custom there were scarcely any conditions attached to this gift. We were to go to Cuzco, the old capital of the Inca empire, and were to begin work among the Inca Indians and to try and translate the Bible into the Quechua language"⁴². Allen Gardiner's advice under such circumstances would have been first to learn Quechua, and then to make a series of visits to Cuzco till the confidence of the Indians had been won⁴³. But the romantic appeal of Cuzco was too great, and as soon as conditions in the country had quietened down after a revolution, Jarrett and Peters set out for Cuzco, arriving there on July 4, 1895⁴⁴.

The two adventurers were astonished at the "liberal sentiments and outspoken contempt and condemnation of Romanism"⁴⁵ that they encountered among the leading citizens, but in all the churches sermons were preached against them so that the Indians, who only understood Quechua and had virtually no contact with the higher classes, were soon turned into their enemies⁴⁶. About two weeks after their arrival both Jarrett and Peters fell ill with small-pox⁴⁷, and Jarrett was only just recovering when on August 21, the Prefect of Cuzco, alleging that he had received an order from the government in Lima, ordered them to leave the town within 24 hours⁴⁸. The Prefect planned to send them under guard to the coast via Arequipa, but the missionaries preferred to accept a friend's offer of horses and escaped from Cuzco on the following day over the long and dangerous mountain route northwards⁴⁹.

³⁷ *Regions Beyond*, April 1894. p. 163.

³⁸ *Idem*, Sept.-Oct. 1894. p. 342.

³⁹ John L. Jarrett, *Fifteen years in Peru*. Lon. 1908. p. 4.

⁴⁰ *Idem*;

Regions Beyond, Sept-Oct. 1894. p. 342.

⁴¹ *World Dominion*, Lon. 1936. p. 293.

⁴² *Regions Beyond*, May 1905. p. 119.

⁴³ See chapter two of this thesis.

⁴⁴ *Regions Beyond*, Feb. 1896. p. 87.

⁴⁵ *Idem*, p. 88.

⁴⁶ *Idem*, May. 1899. pp. 194 f.

⁴⁷ *Idem*, Feb. 1896. p. 89.

⁴⁸ *Idem*, May 1899. p. 196.

⁴⁹ *Idem*, Feb. 1896. p. 89;

Information given by Mrs. Sadie Peters. Document in possession of the E.U.S.A. Lon.

They had to force their animals over the swinging suspension bridges over the Apurimac and Pampas rivers which were then still made with cables of plaited lianes as in the time of the Incas ⁵⁰. They arrived in La Oroya on September 10, and took the train to Lima on the following day ⁵¹. In spite of their weakened condition these two men accomplished in 20 days on horseback a journey that includes five passes of about 14,000 feet and to-day takes 3½ days in a car, travelling between ten and eleven hours a day.

Jarrett married shortly after this experience ⁵², and on March 13, 1896 was back in Cuzco with his wife ⁵³. The municipality with only one dissentient voice gave Jarrett permission to open a school, and soon he had 35 scholars. He also started printing a magazine called *El país de los Incas* (the country of the Incas) ⁵⁴. The liberal faction in Cuzco supported Jarrett strongly, but the clerical opposition was as strong as ever and succeeded in having the Prefect removed. Before his successor arrived, the Roman Catholics sought to stage a mass demonstration calling for Jarrett's removal, which was only prevented by the mobilization of all available troops ⁵⁵. Jarrett's house had to be guarded day and night ⁵⁶, and in September an order came from Lima for the closure of the school on the grounds that the teachers did not possess valid diplomas granted in the country. Pressure on the landlords obliged the Jarretts to move house twice and when in October all efforts to find alternative accommodation had failed, with sad hearts they left Cuzco for a second time ⁵⁷, and returned to Callao.

Then, towards the end of 1897, Jarrett accompanied Harry Guinness on an exploratory visit to Cuzco. The assurances of support given by the authorities during this visit and the fact that they granted Jarrett a diploma so that he could open a school ⁵⁸, decided Guinness in favour of a new and better organized attempt to establish work in that city. Accordingly on December 9, the Jarretts and the Peters, together with the Newells, who had just arrived from England, re-entered Cuzco ⁵⁹, determined "to live as quietly as possible and to avoid any possible motive for provoking the antagonism of either priest or people. However, sermons and pamphlets, petitions, excommunications and calumnies were their lot" ⁶⁰. Jarrett was unable to found a school because the

⁵⁰ *Regions Beyond*, May 1899. p. 200.

⁵¹ Idem, June 1899. p. 253.

⁵² Idem, Feb. 1896. p. 90.

⁵³ Idem, June 1899. p. 253.

⁵⁴ Idem, June 1899. p. 255.

⁵⁵ Idem, p. 256.

⁵⁶ Jarrett, Op. Cit. p. 11.

⁵⁷ *Regions Beyond*, June 1899. p. 258.

⁵⁸ Idem, June 1898. p. 250;

Ritchie, Op. Cit.

⁵⁹ Jarrett, Op. Cit. p. 12;

Webster Browning, *The Romance of the Founding of Evangelical Missions in South America*. Manuscript, Buenos Aires 1933. p. 129.

⁶⁰ Savage, Op. Cit.

government in Lima would not ratify the teaching diploma given by the Cuzco authorities⁶¹. Jarrett and Newell started giving English lessons and Peters made contacts through his paintings and drawings. However, when a new president came to power in 1899, who was known to be a staunch supporter of the Catholic cause the missionaries became apprehensive⁶².

Furthermore, it was becoming clear that it was going to be very difficult to reach the people with the Gospel. The liberals, who at first had been so friendly to the missionaries, were proving to be quite indifferent to any religious approach, Catholic or Protestant⁶³, but a few of those who had appeared to be fanatical were showing interest⁶⁴. In order to break down the prejudice of those who were fanatical, as well as to make themselves indispensable and so to improve their chances of being allowed to stay in Cuzco, Peters decided in August 1899 that they should start devoting themselves to all kinds of industrial enterprises⁶⁵. Newell wrote: "I am not so keen on these things as Mr. Peters, though I see their practical advantages. How much rather would I be quietly studying (Quechua) and preparing for the great day of liberty which must come soon, meanwhile seeking by individual effort to prepare the way"⁶⁶. Nevertheless Peters persuaded both his missionary colleagues and the Board in London of the rightness of his policy⁶⁷.

In March 1900 a company was floated in London on the understanding that it pay half the missionaries' salaries while the other half be paid by the R.B.M.U.⁶⁸, and up to the end of 1901, at least 1750 pounds sterling was invested as capital⁶⁹. Half of the old block now occupied by the tourist hotel was taken on a nine year lease, and a large store, a photographic studio and a meeting hall were established there. Later a North American friend made a considerable gift of equipment for a machine shop which was set up on another street and which employed about fifty men⁷⁰. There can be no doubt that the Cuzco industries established the position of the missionaries and brought them into contact with the cultured classes⁷¹. In 1903 Peters was even elected on to the municipal board⁷². The Cuzco industries also furnished a jumping off point for church work. The employees were obliged to go into prayers every morning before work, and in addition twice a week public

⁶¹ *Regions Beyond*, April 1899. p. 149, and May 1900. p. 218.

⁶² Savage, Op. Cit.

⁶³ Mrs. Newell, Op. Cit. p. 113.

⁶⁴ Idem, p. 104.

⁶⁵ Idem, p. 113 (letter to Mrs. Stransom, dated Aug. 26, 1899).

⁶⁶ Idem, p. 114.

⁶⁷ R.B.M.U. Minute book, Entry for Oct. 30, 1899;

Regions Beyond, May 1900. p. 218.

⁶⁸ R.B.M.U. Minute book, Entry for March 8, 1900.

⁶⁹ Idem. Entries for Feb. 8, 1900 and Dec. 6, 1901.

⁷⁰ Mrs. Sadie Peters' written information.

⁷¹ W. T. T. Millham, Peru activities of the R.M.B.U. 1893-1911. Manuscript in possession of the E.U.S.A. Lon. p. 11.

⁷² *Regions Beyond*, March 1903. p. 117.

services were held ⁷³. In February 1903 the first three "Cuzqueño" converts were baptized and in the following year there were between fifty and sixty baptisms ⁷⁴. As nearly all of the new converts could speak Quechua well, they formed themselves into a mission called the Inca Evangelical Society with the object of evangelizing the surrounding villages. They also started a weekly meeting in Quechua in Cuzco itself ⁷⁵. The missionaries at the time felt that this would be the answer to the problem of reaching the Indians ⁷⁶.

From the start, the Cuzco industries proved to be a financial failure. Already at the beginning of 1901 the Board in London was being confronted with bills of which it had no knowledge and which it, therefore, refused to pay ⁷⁷. The trading account for 1901 showed a loss ⁷⁸, and the Board was clearly concerned about the influence of the industries on the spiritual work. Jarrett wrote that he and his colleagues had asked a colporteur of the A.B.S. to desist from handing out literature around Cuzco, because "it would be disastrous if, after the large amount of capital which had been invested in the Cuzco business, anything should happen to cause a rupture in that centre" ⁷⁹. The result was that at the end of 1901 the R.B.M.U. refused to accept any further responsibility for the Cuzco industries. Jarrett and Peters then offered to become independent of the mission and to take over the industries on their own responsibility. The R.B.M.U. agreed to this provided that 750 pounds sterling of the capital invested be repaid ⁸⁰. From 1902 to 1907 the industries in Cuzco were run as a private enterprise, but in spite of fresh infusions of capital from other sources, very little of the original capital was repaid as agreed ⁸¹.

In 1907, during his second visit to Cuzco, Guinness decided that although the industrial mission had been necessary to establish confidence at the beginning, it should now be closed ⁸². He reported to the Board in London that the sale of the remaining stock and of the machinery would probably only cover the liabilities in Peru and that all the money lent in England and the United States would have to be considered as lost ⁸³. This development so disappointed Peters that he withdrew from the field "utterly cast down" ⁸⁴. It is probable, however, that the industrial mission had been a mistake from the very beginning. In 1898 the missionaries had already maintained their position in Cuzco for six

⁷³ Mrs. Sadie Peters' written information.

⁷⁴ Mrs. Newell, *Op. Cit.* p. 152.

⁷⁵ *Regions Beyond*, Nov. 1904. p. 288.

⁷⁶ Millham, Peru activities of the R.B.M.U. p. 16.

⁷⁷ R.B.M.U. Minute Book. Entry for March 25, 1901.

⁷⁸ *Idem.* Entry for April 18, 1902.

⁷⁹ *Idem.* Entry for April 30, 1901.

⁸⁰ *Idem.* Entry for Dec. 6, 1901.

⁸¹ *Idem.* Entry for March 15, 1904.

⁸² *Regions Beyond*, Aug. 1907. p. 210.

⁸³ R.B.M.U. Minute book. Entry for July 3, 1907.

⁸⁴ Manuscript on Mrs. Sadie Peters' reminiscences in possession of the E.U.S.A. Lon.

months before the industrial mission was ever proposed. Furthermore the industries consumed resources in men and money which were needed elsewhere and encouraged the workmen to show an interest in the Gospel for the sake of ingratiating themselves with their employers. In fact the question arises whether the whole assault on Cuzco had not been a mistake. The object had been to reach the Indian, but although nearly all the Peruvians of Spanish descent in the city could speak Quechua, the Indians were suspicious and withdrawn in their dealings with them⁸⁵. The missionaries needed the support of these mestizos if they were to stay in Cuzco and yet this very support ruined their chances of really coming into contact with the Indian. At the same time these mestizos felt that they had to keep their ranks closed against the Indians. Many of them applauded the Evangelical ideals and maintained close friendships with the missionaries, but with few exceptions they did not dare jeopardize their social status by joining the Protestant church, because apart from their own tightly knit community there was no other group they could belong to except that of the Indians.

c. Other early activities of the R.B.M.U. in Peru

At the beginning of 1898, Stark, who had remained in Callao holding meetings in the Petersen's house, engaged the services of Abrill as a national evangelist. Abrill had been converted in the Polvos Azules meeting in Lima and was baptized in 1896⁸⁶. He worked along the coast and founded a Sunday school in Trujillo⁸⁷, but was brought to trial by a priest who accused him of having violated the constitution by selling Bibles from house to house⁸⁸. Stark together with a new recruit called Patrick went to help Abrill with the legal proceedings and found that there was a strong current of public sympathy for Abrill in Trujillo⁸⁹. Fortunately the civil authorities refused to be intimidated and Abrill was eventually acquitted⁹⁰. Stark grasped this favourable opportunity and started meetings which were attended by an average of 50 people⁹¹. He also opened an institute where people could come in the evenings and read wholesome literature⁹², and turned an invitation to write religious articles for the liberal press to good advantage⁹³. When Stark

⁸⁵ Dwight B. Heath & Richard N. Adams, *Contemporary Cultures & Societies of Latin America*. N.Y. 1965. p. 106.

⁸⁶ Ritchie, Op. Cit;

Regions Beyond, June 1898. p. 253.

⁸⁷ Idem, July/Aug. 1898. p. 300.

⁸⁸ Ritchie, Op. Cit.

Regions Beyond, Sept./Oct. 1898. pp. 360 f.

⁸⁹ Idem, Jan./Feb. 1900. p. 53.

⁹⁰ Idem, Sept./Oct. 1898. p. 364.

⁹¹ Idem, Jan./Feb. 1900. p. 56.

⁹² Idem, Dec. 1900. p. 496.

left for furlough the citizens of Trujillo gave public expression of their appreciation of his services⁹⁴. Patrick together with Derry, who had joined the group in Trujillo a little later, found that there were also useful openings in Chiclayo and Cajamarca⁹⁵.

Unfortunately, Stark found it very difficult to co-operate with his brethren, and on his return to Peru in 1902 left the mission to become B.F.B.S. agent in Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru⁹⁶. The health of the other two missionaries in Trujillo was affected by the malarial conditions then prevailing there. They moved to the port of Salaverry where conditions were better⁹⁷, but in the beginning of 1901 the Patricks needed to go home on furlough⁹⁸, and Derry wished to be moved to Cuzco⁹⁹. Stark pleaded with the Board in London that Trujillo should not be abandoned, and it was agreed that when Derry moved to Cuzco, the Newells should be transferred to Trujillo¹⁰⁰. It is not known why this did not happen, but had Newell been moved to Trujillo, it would have meant that one of the best loved of the early missionaries would have been placed in an area of maximum opportunity. Instead only Derry was moved and Trujillo was abandoned. In the following year Newell, overtired by the constant worries of the Cuzco industries, and depressed by the indifference of the people around him¹⁰¹, succumbed to an attack of typhoid¹⁰². The year after Derry became very critical of the methods adopted by the industrial mission and shortly afterwards left the mission¹⁰³.

Already in 1896 an appeal was made by 70 citizens of Abancay for an Evangelical school to be established there¹⁰⁴. Then in 1904 Jarrett reported that Arequipa, Puno and Sicuani were asking for missionaries¹⁰⁵. With the exception of Arequipa, none of these opportunities could be adequately grasped because Cuzco was absorbing so many resources in money and man-power. The opportunity in Arequipa was due in part to a visit made in 1904 by two members of the Negreiros congregation in Lima¹⁰⁶. They distributed literature and in this way sowed the seed for a preliminary harvest which was reaped later in the year by David Watkins, a visiting evangelist from

⁹⁴ Millham, Peru Activities of the R.B.M.U. p. 11.

⁹⁵ *Regions Beyond*, Nov. 1899. p. 426;
R.B.M.U. Minute book. Entry for Oct. 30, 1899;
Regions Beyond, Dec. 1900. p. 499.

⁹⁶ R.B.M.U. Minute book. Entry for June 14, 1901;
Millham, Peru Activities of the R.B.M.U. p. 14.

⁹⁷ *Regions Beyond*, March 1901. p. 61.

⁹⁸ R.B.M.U. Minute book. Entry for April 30, 1901.

⁹⁹ Idem. Entry for Feb. 19, 1901.

¹⁰⁰ Idem. Entry for March 25, 1901.

¹⁰¹ Mrs. Newell, Op. Cit. p. 141.

¹⁰² W. T. T. Millham, *Heroes of the Cross in South America*. Lon. 1947. p. 67.

¹⁰³ R.B.M.U. Minute book. Entry for Jan. 27, 1904.

¹⁰⁴ Letter in possession of Kenneth Case. Lima.

¹⁰⁵ *Regions Beyond*, Lon. Nov. 1904. p. 286.

¹⁰⁶ *Savage*, Op. Cit.

Mexico¹⁰⁷. Eight people were baptized and started meeting together under the leadership of Eduardo F. Forga, a Peruvian of good family¹⁰⁸. In 1905 Jarrett went to Arequipa to help them¹⁰⁹. At that time there was very strong liberal agitation against the Roman Catholic dignitaries in the city, and Jarrett seized the opportunity to hire a hall and start regular meetings¹¹⁰. He was again taken on as a missionary by the R.B.M.U. Board in London¹¹¹ and stayed in Arequipa, till the loss of his voice at the beginning of 1908 obliged him to go on furlough, after which he returned to Colombia and not to Peru¹¹².

Forga in Arequipa was certainly a dynamic figure. At his own cost he started producing a monthly paper as well as a series of pamphlets aimed at promoting such things as total abstinence from drink and freedom of religion¹¹³. Needless to say there was much opposition, and for a year Forga was almost a prisoner in his own house¹¹⁴. Forga then appealed to the Board of the R.B.M.U. to send a printing press out to Peru¹¹⁵, and in June 1907 Millham, a printer by trade, was taken on by the R.B.M.U. for this work¹¹⁶. In this way Forga gave the stimulus to a most important development. Forga was also very interested in the establishment of a mission farm. As a result of Watkins' reports about the condition of the Indians in the southern Sierra, a branch of the Inca Evangelical Society was established in Arequipa with Forga as its president¹¹⁷. Unfortunately Forga became involved in a law-suit connected with one of his pamphlets, and was obliged to leave the country in 1906¹¹⁸. Watkins then accompanied Forga to England, taking with him a petition with 760 signatures appealing for funds to start schools for the Quechua Indians¹¹⁹.

At that time the Indians enjoyed no effective legal protection, and the landowners and priests acting in combination could prevent the Indians from sending their children to schools where they would be exposed to new ideas. Accordingly Watkins and Forga suggested that the R.B.M.U. buy a large farm and invite Indians to settle on it. These Indians could then send their children to school without fear of interference and themselves be evangelized by means of converted bi-lingual

¹⁰⁷ R.B.M.U. Minute book. Entry for Feb. 15, 1905.

Ritchie, *Op. Cit.* gives the date as 1905, but the above entry which is too extensive to be based on a telegram, makes it almost certain that Forga and his friends were baptized in 1904.

¹⁰⁸ *Regions Beyond*, Lon. May 1905. p. 124.

¹⁰⁹ *Idem*, Oct. 1905. p. 272.

¹¹⁰ Jarrett, *Op. Cit.* p. 21.

¹¹¹ R.B.M.U. Minute book. Entry for Oct. 5, 1905.

¹¹² Ritchie, *Op. Cit.*

¹¹³ R.B.M.U. Minute book. Entry for Feb. 15, 1905.

¹¹⁴ *Regions Beyond*, Lon. Aug. 1906. p. 211.

¹¹⁵ R.B.M.U. Minute book. Entry for Nov. 8, 1906.

¹¹⁶ *Idem*. Entry for June 19, 1907.

¹¹⁷ *Regions Beyond*, Lon. Aug. 1906. p. 207.

¹¹⁸ Ritchie, *Op. Cit.*

Ritchie's notes in Money's possession in Lima.

¹¹⁹ Savage, *Op. Cit.*

natives ¹²⁰. Forga suggested that this farm be bought in the area around Lake Titicaca ¹²¹ where the Indians were far more independent and progressive than around Cuzco. A few years earlier a delegation from the Lake Titicaca area had travelled all the way to Lima to ask the government for schools ¹²². Forga's suggestion was thoroughly practical, but his marriage to an Adventist lady ¹²³, and his work on the translation of S.D.A. literature into Spanish ¹²⁴ ended his co-operation with the R.M.B.U., so that he was not able to guide the later development of this project.

d. The three-fold programme of the R.B.M.U. in Peru

At the inauguration of a new meeting hall in Arequipa in 1908 Ritchie gave an address in which he ably summed up the programme of his mission. "The mission's purpose was to establish a national Christian church . . . with native men as its pastors, with the doctrines of Christ as its creed, and with Christ's example and teaching as its practice". Up till now the mission had confined itself to the three centres of Arequipa, Lima and Cuzco, but "soon they hoped to address the nation in general, first of all through the press, and later by means of a body of native pastors, whom they hoped to find and to prepare for the work". The "oppressed and down-trodden Indians" also occupied a large place in the programme of the mission, and a farm project had been started with a view to "raise the Indian to a higher level, to make his present life worth living and to inspire hope with regard to the life to come" ¹²⁵. Three years later the work of the R.B.M.U. was handed over to the newly formed E.U.S.A. Board, as part of a reorganization by which work being done on a small scale by three different missions in Brazil, the Argentine and Peru, was unified with the object of speeding up progress ¹²⁶. Until 1922 the programme which Ritchie had outlined for Peru remained unchanged. Its three constituent parts of printing, training and farming, must, therefore, be considered in greater detail.

Millham, the printer, arrived in Peru early in 1908 ¹²⁷, and the new press was inaugurated in Arequipa in July 1909 ¹²⁸. Not until October 1911, when Ritchie, who was also a printer by trade started editing a monthly evangelistic periodical, called *El Herald* ¹²⁹, did the press start playing its full part. The fact that the editor was in Lima and the press in Arequipa, made for difficulties, and early in 1912 Millham and the

¹²⁰ *Regions Beyond*, Aug. 1906. p. 211.

¹²¹ Ritchie, Op. Cit.

¹²² *Regions Beyond*, Lon. April 1903. p. 143.

¹²³ R.B.M.U. Minute book. Entry for Dec. 12, 1906.

¹²⁴ Idem. Entry for July 3, 1907.

¹²⁵ *Regions Beyond*, Nov. 1908. p. 199.

¹²⁶ *The Neglected Continent*, Toronto. Sept. 1911. p. 105.

¹²⁷ Millham, Peru Activities of the R.B.M.U. p. 23.

¹²⁸ Idem, p. 31.

¹²⁹ Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles in Theory and Practice* N.Y. 1946. p. 34.

press were transferred to Lima ¹³⁰. Each month 2,000 copies of *El Heraldo* were printed ¹³¹ and many were sent free through the post to people living in the provinces whose names had been mentioned in the newspapers. In this way contacts were made, and in some cases churches were planted in places which had never been visited by a Protestant preacher. In order to provide for the instruction of the new converts, Ritchie started a book depot in the Negreiros meeting hall in 1911 ¹³², and then early in 1912 he established a bookshop called "El Inca" in separate premises, which also housed the printing plant ¹³³. In January 1916, as a further provision for the edification of new groups, he started publishing a 16 page monthly magazine called *El Cristiano*. In July 1921, on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the Peruvian republic, the name of *El Cristiano* was changed into *Renacimiento* (rebirth) ¹³⁴. This postal ministry played a very important part in the early expansion of the E.U.S.A. work in central Peru, but the high illiteracy rate in southern Peru made such a scheme impractical there. A book depot, and later a book store was, however, established in Arequipa.

On May 2, 1910 Watson and Ritchie started a Bible Training School in Lima, to equip members of the Negreiros congregation for the task of evangelism ¹³⁵. Evening classes were held twice weekly till December and during that first year an average of twelve students attended ¹³⁶. The course was repeated in the following year with 14 students ¹³⁷, but in 1912 Watson retired from the field because of his wife's health, and Ritchie went on furlough so that no course was held. When Ritchie returned in March 1913, he became so involved in the struggle for religious liberty ¹³⁸, and other work, that he did not find time to restart the training courses till 1915. In that year two sessions of about three months were held, the first with a final enrolment of 29 and the second with an enrolment of 36 ¹³⁹. These courses laid the basis for a native ministry in central Peru. In the south the work remained confined to meetings in Arequipa, Cuzco and Calca, which were usually led by the

¹³⁰ *The Neglected Continent*, July 1912. p. 63.

¹³¹ Idem, Dec. 1912. p. 178.

¹³² Idem, July 1912. p. 62;

Juan de Dios Guerrero's recollections;

Minutes of Field Committee meetings held in Arequipa. Feb. 20-28, 1911 in the writer's possession.

¹³³ Ritchie's notes in Money's possession in Lima;

The Neglected Continent, Dec. 1912. p. 178;

La Guía Evangélica, Published by 'El Inca'. Lima 1924.

¹³⁴ Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles*. p. 38;

La Guía Evangélica, Published by 'El Inca'. Lima 1924.

¹³⁵ *Regions Beyond*, July 1910. pp. 134 f.

¹³⁶ *The Neglected Continent*, Jan. 1911. p. 92.

¹³⁷ Idem, Sept. 1911. p. 111.

¹³⁸ Ritchie, How Peru attained liberty of worship. Manuscript in Money's possession, Lima. Also Ritchie's notes.

¹³⁹ *South America*, May 1916. pp. 10 f.

missionaries. Millham held a preacher's class in Arequipa in 1911¹⁴⁰, but the training of a native ministry in southern Peru is not mentioned again until Millham was transferred from Lima to Cuzco in 1916¹⁴¹ and started making plans for a Bible school there¹⁴².

The main effort in the south was devoted to the farm project for reaching the Indians. Allan H. Job, an Australian agriculturist, sailed for Peru towards the end of 1906 with that object in view¹⁴³. Whereas Forga's idea was that the farm should be merely a "harbour of refuge"¹⁴⁴, where the Indian parents could support themselves, while their children went to school, Job's idea was to reach the Indians by teaching them modern agricultural methods. The fact that the Lake Titicaca area lies at an altitude of 13,000 feet above sea-level, where nothing will grow except potatoes and coarse grazing for lamas and alpacas, was no obstacle to Forga's scheme, but made it a very unattractive proposition for Job¹⁴⁵. The search was, therefore, extended to the Cuzco region, and in 1908 possession was taken of the beautiful Urco farm near Calca¹⁴⁶. Thomas E. Payne, who after the news of Newell's death had left Harley college for Peru at the end of 1902¹⁴⁷, and who up to 1907 had worked in the Cuzco industries, now joined Job at the farm¹⁴⁸. Job left Peru in 1911¹⁴⁹, and his place was taken by another missionary till 1912. Payne, who had taken an agricultural course in England, then took over the project¹⁵⁰.

The Urco farm consisted of about 250 acres of fertile, irrigated land lying in a valley 9,000 feet above sea-level, together with three vast mountain sections at an altitude of 12,000 feet or more¹⁵¹. The mission took over 17 Indian families with the farm, and more came later. They were allowed to plant potatoes in the mountain sections and keep their own flocks there. In return they had to mind the mission flocks, clear the waterways once a year, and cultivate the low-lying section. For the actual days they worked on the lower section the mission paid them 20 Peruvian cents a day¹⁵² – good money in those days. In fact there is evidence that the Indians were treated over generously, because an appeal was published in the magazine for funds to build new houses so

¹⁴⁰ Minutes of Field Committee meetings for 1912. In the writer's possession.

¹⁴¹ *South America*, May/June 1917. p. 11.

¹⁴² Idem, Oct. 1917. p. 71.

¹⁴³ R.B.M.U. Minute book. Entry for Dec. 12, 1906.

¹⁴⁴ *Regions Beyond*, Aug. 1906. p. 211.

¹⁴⁵ Ritchie, *Apuntes*...

¹⁴⁶ *Regions Beyond*, July 1908;

Final arrangements for the purchase were only completed in 1911. Minutes of Field Committee meetings held in Arequipa. Feb. 20–28, 1911.

¹⁴⁷ Millham, *Peru Activities of the R.B.M.U.* p. 16.

¹⁴⁸ *Regions Beyond*, Oct. 1908. p. 186.

¹⁴⁹ Millham, *Peru Activities of the R.B.M.U.* p. 35.

¹⁵⁰ *Regions Beyond*, Aug./Sept. 1910. p. 143.

¹⁵¹ Two of these 'punas' or mountain sections have since been sold. Alfred Bell's Farm Report. May 1964, in the writer's possession. Also some of the irrigated section has been disposed of.

¹⁵² *Regions Beyond*, Jan. 1909. p. 15.

that more Indian families could be received on the farm ¹⁵³. Normally the Indians built their houses without any outside help.

In 1912 Charles Inwood, who was then a member of the E.U.S.A. Board, visited the farm and noted that because the missionaries could not yet speak Quechua, the Indians were not being evangelized. He, therefore, made arrangements that a bi-lingual Peruvian Christian be taken on for this work ¹⁵⁴. At the end of the same year Mrs. Stockwell, who had come to South America seeking opportunities for Christian service, came to the farm ¹⁵⁵, and started a school for the children of the Indians ¹⁵⁶. In 1915 this lady, who is gratefully remembered in Peru for her many good works, established an orphanage at Urco ¹⁵⁷. For his part Payne did much to help the Indians improve their agricultural methods. He developed a new type of disease resistant grain which would grow at high altitude, and also introduced better strains of livestock. Indians, who came from many parts of the region to see the new developments and to take some of the new seed grain home with them, heard the Gospel from the lips of the bi-lingual native preacher ¹⁵⁸. S. G. Inman, general secretary of the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, visited the farm in 1917 and wrote to the mission: "We must look to your society for solving the problem of how to reach the Indians. I know of no other mission that is working at this problem as you are. I was more delighted than I can tell with the work being done at the farm" ¹⁵⁹. Harry Strachan, the founder of the Latin American mission paid a visit to Urco shortly afterwards and recorded his conviction "that the Urco farm, under its present management, if financed and supported in accordance with actual ¹⁶⁰ necessities and future possibilities, is destined to become one of the most important, least expensive and most fruitful of all your society's activities in South America" ¹⁶¹.

¹⁵³ *The Neglected Continent*, July 1912. p. 64;

South America, July 1916. p. 59.

¹⁵⁴ *The Neglected Continent*, Dec. 1912. p. 205.

¹⁵⁵ *South America*, Oct./Dec. 1957. p. 50 (Obituary).

¹⁵⁶ Idem, July 1916. p. 59.

¹⁵⁷ Idem, May 1915. p. 28.

¹⁵⁸ Thomas E. Payne, Talk given for the British Broadcasting Corporation. June 19, 1938.

¹⁵⁹ *South America*, Oct. 1917. p. 71.

¹⁶⁰ Strachan was probably thinking of the Spanish meaning of actual. The sentence makes better sense if the word present is put in the place of actual.

¹⁶¹ *South America*, Jan. 1918. p. 105.

CHAPTER XIII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE E.U.S.A. WORK IN CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN PERU

a. The establishment of the Iglesia Evangélica Peruana in central Peru

Ritchie was undoubtedly the founder of the I.E.P., but he could not have achieved his success without the help of two Peruvians, Juan de Dios Guerrero and Juan Virgilio, and an Ecuadorian, Alfonso Muñoz. Guerrero was born in Piura on March 8, 1881¹. When he came to Lima as a rough labourer in search of a living, he had not had more than 14 days of schooling². In 1908 he was invited to the meetings in Negreiros Street by a friend and started attending regularly, even when he was drunk. At the end of 1908 he was converted and was delivered from the drink habit. He became a very close friend of Ritchie, and was taken on in 1911 as a native helper³, primarily to attend to the book depot, but in that year he also made his first evangelistic trip⁴. He followed Ritchie's training classes faithfully and to such profit that he became Ritchie's most trusted worker. When literature which had been sent through the post awakened interest in isolated spots, it was usually Guerrero who was sent to visit the enquirers⁵ and to give them the needed counsel⁶. Guerrero is not a man of many talents, but those which he has, he uses with astonishing perseverance. He has never complained about his low pay or the hardships he has had to endure⁷, and continues his ministry of visiting and helping churches and scattered groups to this day⁸.

Juan Virgilio found himself involuntarily involved in a revolution which occurred at the presidential palace in 1909. He took a step backwards and at that moment bullets passed right in front of him. He had been attending Protestant services for four years already, but after this experience he consecrated his life to God's service⁹ and was baptized in

¹ Juan de Dios Guerrero, *Relatos Personales*. Manuscript in the writer's possession. p. 1.

² *South America*, Lon. Jan. 1920. p. 87.

³ *The Neglected Continent*, Toronto Jan. 1911. p. 92.

⁴ Guerrero, *Op. Cit.* p. 12.

⁵ *South America*, Jan. 1920. p. 87.

⁶ *Idem*, July/Aug. 1924. p. 66.

⁷ *Idem*, Jan. 1920. p. 87.

⁸ Guerrero's letter to the writer dated Nov. 8, 1965. Since August Guerrero had visited places as widely apart as Puno and Huánuco.

⁹ Alfonso Muñoz, *Mis Memorias*. Manuscript in possession of the E.U.S.A. Lon; Guerrero's information.

the following year ¹⁰. He also followed some of Ritchie's training classes, and then Stark took him on as a colporteur for the B.F.B.S. Virgilio possessed a most remarkable gift for establishing new groups. He used to go to the centres of the mining industry such as La Oroya, Casapalca, Morococha, and Cerro de Pasco, and offer Bibles to the workers on pay day. At the same time he talked with the passers by about the Gospel and made many contacts. When these workers had earned sufficient money they returned to their villages, and as a result widely scattered groups came into existence ¹¹. Alfonso Muñoz was born in Cuenca, Ecuador, and was more cultured than either Guerrero or Virgilio. He went to Callao as a young man, where he was converted through Bright's ministry. He accompanied Bright back to Ecuador and stayed there for ten years. Then Penzotti made him a sub-agent of the A.B.S. in Lima, and in this period he started helping with the preaching at the Negreiros hall ¹². On April 9, 1916 he was installed as pastor of the Negreiros congregation ¹³. He built up the congregation which was then small and enabled Ritchie to give more attention to other developments.

By 1916 churches linked to the Negreiros congregation had been established at Huantán, Casapalca, Morococha, and Cerro de Pasco ¹⁴. From 1918 onwards many new groups started springing up and as pastors were not available, it became clear to Ritchie that some form of organization was needed for mutual support, if these groups were to survive. He held a meeting in Lima in April 1919 to prepare the way for the establishment of a Synod ¹⁵, but became ill and had to return to Great Britain almost immediately afterwards ¹⁶. As a result Muñoz led the first Synod which was held in Lima in November of that year with 11 delegates present ¹⁷. The next two Synods were also held in Lima, but the rapid development of the work in the Sierra made a change necessary. At the beginning of 1920 there were already 25 highland groups organized in connection with the Negreiros church ¹⁸, and by the middle of 1924 this figure had risen to at least 44 ¹⁹. The Synod of May 1922 was, therefore, held at Muquiyauyo, a large village in the central highlands ²⁰, with 11 churches represented and 19 delegates in attendance. The first three days were devoted to business sessions and

¹⁰ *The Neglected Continent*, Jan. 1911 p. 86.

¹¹ Muñoz, Op. Cit.

¹² Idem. Op. Cit.

¹³ *South America*, July 1916. p. 99.

¹⁴ *El Herald*, Lima junio 1916.

¹⁵ Ladislao Barreto, *Apuntes históricos de la iglesia libre en el Peru*. Morococha 1942. p. 10;

Ritchie's notes in Money's possession in Lima.

¹⁶ *South America*, May 1920. p. 108.

¹⁷ Idem, July 1920. p. 126.

¹⁸ Idem, May 1920. p. 105.

¹⁹ Idem, Nov./Dec. 1924. p. 85.

²⁰ Barreto, Op. Cit. p. 13.

the last three to a Bible convention which was open for all who could attend ²¹.

The fact that this Synod was held right in the area where the new groups were springing up, must have given those connected with this movement the feeling that the church was theirs and that they were responsible for its progress, because the Synod of Muquiyauyo was followed by an outburst of evangelistic activity ²². In the three years following this Synod, on average a new group was started every month ²³. The name "Iglesia Evangélica Peruana" was approved at Muquiyauyo and what Ritchie considered to be a simple constitution along Presbyterian lines was adopted ²⁴. The difficulties of this constitution will be considered later, but there can be no doubt that it met the immediate need of some form of organization.

In 1923 the first two Presbyteries were organized ²⁵, and in the following year another region was organized as a Presbytery, while one of the original Presbyteries was divided into two more workable units ²⁶. Both the yearly Synod and the quarterly Presbytery meetings fulfilled a most useful and necessary function in the dull lives of these Indians. Instead of the drunken debauchery which all too often had characterized the religious feasts they had known previously, the Presbytery meetings provided opportunities for happy fellowship and for spiritual edification. Meals were held communally, Bible studies were given and the progress of the work in the various regions was reported. Also very important was the opportunity of making a collection for the support of the itinerant preachers. Each church in turn invited the Presbytery and offered hospitality to all who came. In this way the continuity with the old Indian feasts was maintained, although recently the rising cost of food and increasing urbanization has made it necessary to charge a fee for board.

b. The early development of the I.E.P.

Ritchie attended the congress organized by the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America in Panama in 1916. He was elected president of the Peruvian branch and in May 1917 accompanied Samuel Inman, the secretary of the Latin American committee on a tour of the E.U.S.A. field in Peru. Inman was deeply impressed by the mission activities, but was disappointed at the very small number of national workers which either the Methodists or the E.U.S.A. had been able to train up to that moment. Inman, therefore, urged that Ritchie's evening classes for Christian workers be turned into a united and more securely organized

²¹ *South America*, Nov./Dec. 1922. p. 84.

²² Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles in Theory and Practice*. N.Y. 1946. p. 46.

²³ Ritchie, *The Gospel in the High Andes*. s.a. p. 10.

²⁴ *South America*, Nov./Dec. 1922. p. 84.

²⁵ Barreto, Op. Cit. pp. 20 f.

²⁶ *South America*, Jan./Feb. 1925. p. 108.

venture ²⁷. A series of classes on a union basis were held in 1917 and an even more successful session was organized in 1918. The missionaries gave the lessons free, but the students covered all the other expenses themselves ²⁸. John Mackay of the F.C.S. mission ²⁹, several of the Methodist missionaries and of course Ritchie served on the teaching staff. Unfortunately nothing more is heard of this seminary after 1918. Ritchie's illness in the following year will have been one of the reasons for the discontinuance of this vital project, but the growing disunity among the missionaries in Lima will also have been a cause, and in 1921 the Methodists started their own Bible school ³⁰.

The meeting of the Committee on Co-operation held in Lima at the time of Inman's visit in 1917 decided to recommend to the mission Boards the division of territorial responsibility, so that the Free Church of Scotland would care for the northern area around Trujillo and Cajamarca, the Methodists for the central territory and the E.U.S.A. for the south ³¹. The Boards agreed to this proposal, but the presence of the six congregations in the central highlands connected to the Negreiros church soon gave rise to difficulties. The suggestion that these groups go over to the Methodists was discussed at the 1920 Synod, which Ritchie presided. Ritchie explained that because these groups were already in existence before 1917, they were quite free to choose with whom they wished to affiliate. He then briefly sketched the history of the Methodist church and said something about the character and the objects of the E.U.S.A., and after this discourse the representatives pronounced themselves in favour of maintaining their affiliation to the regional Synod of the Evangelical churches in central Peru as it was then still called ³².

Ritchie did not yet grasp that complete autonomy of the local congregation leads to incompatibility with the wider interests of the church. As chairman of the Committee of Co-operation he felt it to be in the interest of the church as a whole that the central highlands be entrusted to the care of the Methodists, and yet he continued to insist that the Evangelical groups in that area were free to affiliate with whom they chose. In fact the wrong decision had already been taken in 1919 with the establishment of a Synod composed of churches which lay mostly in the areas where the Methodists were already working. Ritchie would have done better to encourage these churches to join the Methodists and to have concentrated his attention on the important openings in the Yauyos and Huánuco regions, where the Methodists had no work at all. The Methodist work developed chiefly in the larger towns, while with

²⁷ *South America*, Oct. 1917. p. 70.

²⁸ *Idem*, July 1919. p. 66.

²⁹ *Free Church of Scotland Missionary Enterprise*, Edinburgh, 1949. p. 48.

³⁰ *Actas de la conferencia Misionera Andina del norte*, Lima 28 de diciembre 1921 al 1 de enero 1922. p. 202.

³¹ *South America*, Oct. 1917. p. 70.

³² Barreto, *Op. Cit.* pp. 10 f.

one important exception, the I.E.P. work prospered in the rural areas. This exception was Morococha, where the Methodists never had any permanent work. In all the other centres where the I.E.P. established itself, the Methodists did have work, so that difficulties and even divisions ensued.

In 1921 the Evangelical church in Concepción, a small town in the Jauja Huancayo valley, found that it could no longer maintain itself without a pastor, and approached the Methodists in Huancayo for help. A satisfactory solution was found and a large majority decided to go over to the Methodists. The Methodist missionary in Huancayo, in a clear reference to Ritchie, reported that he was convinced that if it had not been for "private and narrowly sectarian interests in Lima" all the members in Concepción would have gone over to the Methodists³³. As it was, the church was split and a small group remained behind, which for a time prospered as an I.E.P. church, but has since disappeared without trace. Also in 1921 a member of the Evangelical church in Morococha returned to his home in Tarma, and split the church there by his refusal to submit to the Methodist regulations³⁴. The I.E.P. church in Tarma also prospered for a while and then died out, although in this case the church was re-started around the year 1950. It is extremely unfortunate that Ritchie, far from disowning such practices, seemed to sanction them. At the time of the Muquiyauyo Synod in 1922 he visited the groups in Concepción and Tarma, and even arranged that the next Synod should be held at the latter place³⁵. Later when impediments arose in Tarma the next Synod was held in Concepción instead³⁶. These difficulties harmed the I.E.P. work more than that of the Methodists and contributed to the I.E.P.'s failure to establish strong churches in the main centres, apart from Morococha, until many years later. The result was that the I.E.P. groups had no central point in their own area to which they could turn for help and support.

The other and even more important reason for the slow development of the work in the main centres was the lack of a trained native ministry. Up to 1923 Juan de Dios Guerrero, who already at that time was being described as "our veteran worker"³⁷, was the only full-time I.E.P. preacher, but in that year as a result of an appeal that Ritchie made to mission supporters in Great Britain, it became possible to appoint two more preachers. At the 1924 Synod it was decided to adopt a system of money boxes and a fourth worker was appointed whose support came entirely from local sources³⁸. By 1927 there was a total of six preach-

³³ *Actas de la conferencia misionera Andina del norte*, Lima 28 de diciembre al 1 de enero 1922. p. 203.

³⁴ Idem.

³⁵ *South America*, Nov./Dec. 1922. p. 84.

³⁶ Barreto, Op. Cit. p. 15.

³⁷ *South America*, Lon. July/Aug. 1924. p. 65.

³⁸ Idem, Jan./Feb. 1925. p. 108.

ers³⁹. However, only Guerrero had served as an apprentice to an experienced missionary and had received any systematic Bible training, and of the early preachers only Guerrero persevered in Christian work. As stated above the work expanded very rapidly up to 1925. At the time of the Muquiyauyo Synod there were about 25 groups in existence⁴⁰. Three years later there were about 60 groups, but after that there was little further increase in the department of Junin, where the original growth had taken place. The reason was that the lay evangelists who had initially given so enthusiastically of their time, stopped going out as they had done before. Ritchie wrote that he was not sure of the reason for this, but added: "It is probable that hearing of others receiving a salary for this work, affected their mental attitude"⁴¹. The writer cannot, however, agree with this reason. Some I.E.P. workers were receiving a salary long before the expansion started and in later years the lay ministry has functioned regardless of whether a paid ministry was present or not.

The early enthusiasm faded away because after a while the lay preachers found that they could no longer retain the people's interest. Ritchie was keenly aware of this problem⁴², but the breakdown of co-operation in Lima prevented him from continuing the training classes he had helped to start. Furthermore the proposal to make *El Cristiano* a union paper⁴³ never materialized till ten years later⁴⁴, and because the relations with his colleagues were so strained, he with the help of two lady missionaries, had to attend to the printing press, the bookshop and the editing of the periodicals himself. It is amazing how much he did manage to do, but he could not be in two places at once, so that the urgently needed training of lay workers in the highland regions had to wait. In 1922 Ritchie tried to establish a correspondence course and even enrolled 94 students⁴⁵, but nothing more is heard of this project. He urged those who wanted to receive some training to come down to Lima, take work and attend the meetings for a time⁴⁶, but such a course was obviously not open to many. In 1924 he thought of opening a Bible institute, and during his short visit to England in 1926 was still talking about this ideal, but in Ritchie's circumstances this could only remain a dream.

While Ritchie was in England in 1926, he met a Spaniard, Manuel Garrido Aldama, a former Roman Catholic priest who had left that church as a doubter and had some time later been converted to Protestantism. Ritchie felt that Alfonso Muñoz, the pastor at the Negreiros

³⁹ Idem, May/June 1927. p. 134.

⁴⁰ Idem, May 1920. p. 105.

⁴¹ Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles*. p. 52.

⁴² *South America*, May/June 1926. p. 39. (Ritchie's address to the E.U.S.A. annual meeting in Lon. on Mar. 9, 1926).

⁴³ Idem, Oct. 1917. p. 70.

⁴⁴ *Report to the 1928 G.A.F.C.S.* p. 836.

⁴⁵ *South America*, Mar./April 1923. p. 124.

⁴⁶ Idem, May/June 1926. p. 38.

church, was not capable of developing that work much further, and believed that in Aldama he had found the right man for the Lima church⁴⁷. On his return to Peru, Ritchie succeeded in arranging Muñoz's replacement, but only at the expense of arousing a strong nationalistic feeling among the members of the congregation⁴⁸. A considerable number continued to support Muñoz and resented the foreign interference, with the result that Muñoz, remembering Bright's example of living by faith, decided to separate and form a congregation on his own. Emissaries from this separate group troubled other congregations of the I.E.P. and for a time a separatist group was also established in Goyllarisquisga, a mining centre near Cerro de Pasco⁴⁹. The church as a whole supported Ritchie and the separatist movement eventually came to an end in 1933 when Muñoz went to Ritchie and in "a generous spirit" healed the breach, but the whole work received a blow, and the children of those involved in many cases became estranged from the Gospel⁵⁰.

c. Ritchie's withdrawal from the E.U.S.A.

Ritchie concentrated much of his attention on "El Inca", the book-store and printing establishment. There was undoubtedly a great need for a literature campaign and Ritchie stocked not only religious books, but also a wide range of other works. He believed that this "was not only necessary to attract customers and help the enterprise pay, but was also a positive service to a nation where liberal ideas were little understood"⁵¹. At the same time the writer cannot help feeling that to some extent literature was for him an escape from his other problems. Ritchie was certainly easier to co-operate with than Bright, and yet there is a parallel between Bright who sacrificed the work he had built up in Lima so as to ensure the continuity of his printing programme, and Ritchie who sacrificed his ambition to train a ministry for the sake of his literature campaign. Ritchie long believed that he could build up a ministry for the I.E.P. through the sale of books and the distribution of *El Cristiano*⁵², but by 1922 the E.U.S.A. Board in London was coming to the conclusion that the printing work in Lima was absorbing too much of his time and energy⁵³.

In order to make the press pay its way, Ritchie, beside the work done for the various missions, had to undertake secular work as well, and the

⁴⁷ Alfonso Muñoz, *Mis Memorias*. Manuscript in possession of the E.U.S.A. Lon.

⁴⁸ *Report* to the 1928 G.A.F.C.S.

⁴⁹ Barreto, *Op. Cit.* pp. 20-22.

⁵⁰ Kenneth Grubb, *The E.U.S.A. in Peru*. Manuscript in possession of the E.U.S.A. Lon;
Money's information.

⁵¹ Kenneth Grubb, *The E.U.S.A. in Peru*.

⁵² Ritchie, "The Religious Periodical in South America". *Biblical Review*, Oct. 1919.

⁵³ McDonald Hennell's information based on the E.U.S.A. board minutes of March 22, 1922.

Board felt that as commercial firms were by then willing to accept Protestant printing orders, the time had come to sell the press. As yet there was no suggestion of reducing the work of the bookshop, but "El Inca" was Ritchie's pet project in all its facets, and he resisted the suggestions from London ⁵⁴. A Board deputation, including McNairn the secretary, visited the field in 1923, but after this deputation returned to London, for some reason which is not clear, its report was never properly considered in a Board session ⁵⁵, and matters were allowed to drift. In the years that followed, Ritchie became more and more concerned with the lot of the Peruvian mother, who often had far more children than was justified either for her health, or her economic resources. The result was that in 1928, or perhaps even earlier, Ritchie started stocking books on family planning ⁵⁶ and birth-control devices suitable for married women, which were then not commercially available in Peru ⁵⁷. Some time previously the bookshop had been in financial difficulties, and the Board in London had made a grant on the understanding that "El Inca" would never again call on the mission for financial help ⁵⁸. However, just when the Board was given its first intimation that "El Inca" was selling contraceptives it received an urgent appeal from Ritchie for 200 pounds sterling needed to keep the book-store going ⁵⁹. It is understandable that under these circumstances the Board not only refused Ritchie's request for more money, but felt that the auxiliary methods used by the mission in the presentation of the Gospel needed to be re-examined.

In November 1928 the E.U.S.A. Board went further and defined the basic purpose of the mission as follows: "Our sole objective as a society was that of the winning of men and women to a personal knowledge of Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour and the gathering of these into Christian churches on a New Testament basis, with no qualifications or limitations of a denominational character" ⁶⁰. Ritchie could not agree with such a statement of aims, partly because he had come to realize that the object of the Gospel was not merely to win individuals, but also to serve society as a whole, but probably even more because his experience with the I.E.P. showed that it was impossible to build up churches with no denominational character ⁶¹. It is often stated that Ritchie resigned as a result of a personality clash with McNairn, which dated from the time that both were students at Harley College in London. This was undoubtedly an added factor, but difficult as Ritchie was to co-operate with, especially in his earlier years, he would never have taken such a

⁵⁴ Hennell's information based on the E.U.S.A. board minutes of Sept. 1922.

⁵⁵ Idem. After 1922.

⁵⁶ Money's recollection.

⁵⁷ Recollections of an eye-witness who would prefer to remain anonymous.

⁵⁸ Guerrero's information.

⁵⁹ Hennell's information, based on E.U.S.A. board minutes of Oct. 1928.

⁶⁰ Idem, of Nov. 1928.

⁶¹ Kenneth Grubb's information;
Money's information.

far-reaching decision, had he not felt "compelled" ⁶² to do so. McNairn later maintained that Ritchie's final and decisive disagreement was not with him, but with the Board ⁶³, and Ritchie was of the same opinion ⁶⁴.

Ritchie sent a proposal to a Board meeting held in December 1928 that other organizations be allowed to co-operate in the work of the book-store and the printing press, and that in this way the E.U.S.A. be relieved of the financial burden ⁶⁵. By this time the Board wanted to have nothing to do with the book-store, unless it restricted itself to what the Board considered to be the immediate task of the mission. Moreover, as mentioned above, even wider disagreements had become apparent. In the same month, therefore, Ritchie informed the field committee of the E.U.S.A. in Peru of his intention to resign ⁶⁶. This vital message was never passed on to London, possibly because they expected he might still change his mind. Once before Ritchie had said he was resigning from the mission ⁶⁷, only to be reconciled with the Board later ⁶⁸. The first definite news that the Board received, was contained in Ritchie's cablegram of April 1929 stating that Inman, the secretary of the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America had offered him a post in New York and that he was accepting ⁶⁹.

d. The hybrid character of the I.E.P.

Ritchie was brought up in the Presbyterian church of Scotland ⁷⁰, but from the time of his conversion was associated with the St. George's Cross Tabernacle in Glasgow ⁷¹, where a "non-denominational congregation destitute of administrative organization or church officers or even a membership roll" ⁷² met for worship under the direction of its pastor. Ritchie went to Peru without any denominational affiliation and without any fixed ideas on church government, except that congregations needed pastors. In his earlier years in Peru he wrote repeatedly about the need of national pastors and of the urgency of establishing a training programme for them ⁷³. In 1915 he installed a pastor at Huantán in the province of Yauyos ⁷⁴, and he made Muñoz a pastor in Lima in 1916 ⁷⁵.

⁶² Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles*. p. 51.

⁶³ Hennell's information based on a letter written by McNairn to Ritchie's widow.

⁶⁴ Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles*. p. 51.

⁶⁵ Hennell's information based on E.U.S.A. board minutes for Dec. 1928.

⁶⁶ Idem, for 1929.

⁶⁷ Report to the 1917 G.A.F.C.S. p. 837.

⁶⁸ Hennell's information based on E.U.S.A. board minutes of 1917.

⁶⁹ Idem, for 1929;

South America, July/Aug. 1929.

⁷⁰ Ritchie, *The Indigenous Church in Peru*. Lon. 1932. p. 6.

⁷¹ *Regions Beyond*, Lon. Sept. 1906. p. 242.

⁷² Ritchie, *The Indigenous Church in Peru*. p. 6.

⁷³ *El Cristiano*, Lima agosto de 1916 y febrero de 1919.

⁷⁴ *South America*, May 1916. pp. 10 f.

⁷⁵ Idem, July 1916. p. 99.

He voted in favour of a proposal that the mission pay Muñoz's salary ⁷⁶, and did the same for a pastor who was installed in Huánuco in 1917 ⁷⁷. The constitution adopted at Muquiyauyo, for which Ritchie was largely responsible, looked forward to the time when the church would have its own pastors, and later Ritchie both helped to establish the Peruvian Bible Institute for the training of pastors, and remained up to the time of his death one of its staunchest supporters. Nevertheless it was later said that Ritchie was against pastors. To assess this criticism properly it is necessary to examine further the various influences to which he was exposed.

Ritchie was one of the first missionaries in Peru to realize the extent to which foreign practices were unconsciously being imposed on the young Protestant church ⁷⁸. His thinking on this subject was stimulated by Edwin Hatch's lectures on the organization of the early churches ⁷⁹. Hatch maintained that this organization was not handed down by the apostles, but had been borrowed and adapted from the society in which the early church grew up ⁸⁰. In October 1916 Ritchie started publishing a series of articles in *El Cristiano*, in which he sought to fit Hatch's idea into the Peruvian situation ⁸¹. Believers were not to wait till they had a pastor ⁸², but to elect a committee from among themselves, which should include at least a president, a secretary and a treasurer. This committee was to make arrangements for the services and if no one was capable of preaching then printed sermons and portions of Scripture were to be read ⁸³. This simple organization resembled that used by the Indians for their communal affairs, so that the groups were able to reproduce themselves without outside assistance. From the beginning the I.E.P.'s Peruvian character has been the source both of its strength and of its charm.

Ritchie's move to Lima in 1907 brought him into contact with those who had been deeply influenced by Bright's life and teaching. Ritchie came to have a high regard for his forerunner ⁸⁴ and was undoubtedly influenced by Bright's views on the ministry. At the same time Ritchie noticed the tendency of many of the native pastors to dominate their congregations and resolved that the I.E.P. should not become "another field for the ambitions of petty dictators" ⁸⁵. In this connection he allowed himself to be influenced by another of Hatch's contentions,

⁷⁶ Minutes of the Field Committee meetings held at the end of 1915; Ritchie's notes in Money's possession in Lima. Not till June 1918 did the Negreiros congregation start paying part of Muñoz's salary.

⁷⁷ Minutes of the Field Executive meetings held in Arequipa. March 13-17, 1917.

⁷⁸ Kenneth Grubb, *The E.U.S.A. in Peru*. Unpublished manuscript in possession of the E.U.S.A. Lon.

⁷⁹ Ritchie, *The Indigenous Church in Peru*. p. 6.

⁸⁰ Edwin Hatch, *Die Gesellschaftsverfassung der Christlichen Kirchen in Altherthum. Uebersetzung der zweiten durchgesehenen Auflage*. Giessen. 1883. pp. 221-223.

⁸¹ *South America*, Feb. 1917. p. 163.

⁸² *El Cristiano*, Lima agosto 1916.

⁸³ Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles*. p. 37.

⁸⁴ Money's information.

⁸⁵ Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles*. p. 40.

namely that the functions of presidency and of ministry, which the apostles had combined in themselves, soon became separated from each other in the early church⁸⁶. The presidency became vested in the Presbyterate, while the ministry was taken over by the Episcopate. Then, according to Hatch, the privileges accumulated by the Episcopate, especially at the time of the struggle against Gnosticism, led to an eclipse of the Presbyterate and the concentration of power in the hands of the Episcopate⁸⁷. Ritchie determined to make such a development impossible by denying those engaged in the ministry any special privileges. Itinerant preachers had neither voice nor vote in the councils of the church unless the congregation to which they belonged had elected them as delegates to that particular gathering⁸⁸. The position of settled pastors was somewhat better in that they were ex-officio members of their church's delegation to the Presbyteries, but within their church the consistory had if need be the right to meet without them⁸⁹. In this denial of special privileges to those who ministered, the I.E.P. resembled the Plymouth Brethren movement.

In one respect, however, Ritchie departed both from the practice of the Indian communities and from Hatch's description of the early church. In the Indian communities, because of age, experience and natural ability certain people came to have a dominant influence. These persons would be proposed for leadership at a meeting, whereupon unanimous approval almost automatically followed⁹⁰. Hatch pointed out that in the early church the procedure adopted was also not entirely democratic. The right of making nominations rested exclusively with the existing officials and the people could only approve these nominations or withhold agreement⁹¹. Ritchie's fear that either of these practices could lead to a new authoritarianism and his implicit belief that the divine will would be manifested through a majority of God's people⁹² led him to arrange that the church leaders be chosen annually⁹³ in an open election in which any two members could present a nomination⁹⁴. Thus as far as internal affairs were concerned, final authority in the local church rested with the congregation itself and in this respect the I.E.P. churches were given a Congregational character.

At the same time Ritchie was acutely conscious of the tendency to separatism in Peruvian society and of the fact that pastorless groups

⁸⁶ Hatch, Op. Cit. pp. 42 & 54 f.; *El Cristiano*, Lima diciembre 1916.

⁸⁷ Hatch, Op. Cit. p. 227.

⁸⁸ Ritchie, *The Indigenous Church in Peru*. p. 12.

⁸⁹ Anteproyecto de la reforma de la constitución de la I.E.P.

Mimeographed brochure published in Lima probably in 1945.

⁹⁰ Eugene A. Nida & William L. Wonderly. Selection, Preparation and Function of leaders in Indian Fields. *Practical Anthropology*, Jan./Feb. 1963. pp. 7-9.

⁹¹ Hatch, Op. Cit. pp. 59 & 131.

⁹² Money's information.

⁹³ Ritchie, *The Indigenous Church in Peru*. p. 11.

⁹⁴ Procedimientos de la I.E.P. Brochure published in Lima s.a.

Ritchie, *Ancianos y Diaconos*. Lima 1951. p. 8.

died out if they lost their connection with other churches⁹⁵. For that reason the constitution which was approved at Muquiyauyo stipulated that all I.E.P. churches and groups should be organized in Presbyteries and were to belong to one general Synod. These higher bodies were entrusted with the care for all the mutual interests of these churches and groups. The obviously beneficial effect of this organization on the development of the I.E.P. made a deep impression on Ritchie and later he strongly opposed those of his missionary colleagues who considered organizational matters to be unspiritual. His conviction that native congregations could only survive if they were organized into what amounted to a denominational structure was the chief cause of his conflict with McNairn, who because of his Plymouth Brethren background continued to believe that indigenous churches should be built up on an independent basis. This Presbyterian structure of the I.E.P., as far as the relationship between the churches was concerned, made McNairn feel that it was incompatible with the interdenominational nature of the E.U.S.A.⁹⁶.

Ritchie also reacted strongly against the professionalism which often made its appearance when native pastors were located in one place and received most of their support from the mission. Not only did the pastor confine his attention to the spot where he was located, but the members of his congregation all too readily became oblivious of their own responsibility to evangelize. Ritchie was convinced that the early growth of the I.E.P. was due to the spirit of self-sacrifice which the virtual absence of mission subsidy had helped to stimulate⁹⁷. Already in 1916 he was coming to the conclusion that the greatest need was for itinerant pastors⁹⁸; in 1921 he wrote an article in *El Cristiano* against "rented pastors"⁹⁹ and in 1922 he declared that it was no part of his plan to install pastors in the Sierra villages¹⁰⁰. Ritchie did, however, realize that some help had to be given and he appealed to the home constituency for funds to support itinerant preachers who would visit the churches and groups¹⁰¹. Ritchie also approved of a mission contribution to the pastor's allowance in Lima because he considered this church's position to be exceptional in that it was an evangelistic base for the whole of central Peru¹⁰². The I.E.P. can, therefore, also be considered to have some resemblance to the Methodist church in that its aim was to have

⁹⁵ Money's recollection;
Ritchie's editorial. *El Cristiano*, Lima febrero 1919.

⁹⁶ Kenneth Grubb's information.

⁹⁷ Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles*. p. 42.

⁹⁸ *South America*, Feb. 1916. p. 165.

⁹⁹ Bright's letter to Ritchie, dated June 27, 1921 in Money's possession in Lima.

¹⁰⁰ *South America*, Jan./Feb. 1923. p. 102.

¹⁰¹ Ritchie, *With the E.U.S.A. in Central Peru*. Pamphlet published in Lon. by the E.U.S.A. probably towards the end of 1922.

¹⁰² Ritchie, Characteristics of the Indigenous Church in Peru. *World Dominion*, Lon. April 1931. p. 185.

fixed pastors at the central points with circuit preachers in the outlying areas.

Finally the I.E.P. resembled the Baptist church in that it practised adult baptism. In his desire to make the I.E.P. a spiritual home for all believers in Peru, Ritchie tried to avoid making any one form of baptism a condition of membership, but at the 1922 Synod held in Muquiyauyo he was overruled by a majority of the Peruvians who felt that adult baptism should be required¹⁰³. Theoretically the I.E.P. recognizes the infant baptism of other Protestant churches if the person concerned has been confirmed and is a communicant of that other church before joining the I.E.P., but in practice the tendency is for new members who have only been baptized as infants to be re-baptized regardless of whether their baptism took place in a Roman Catholic or a Protestant church. Adult baptism is, therefore, not so much a protest against the practice of the Roman Catholic church, as an expression of the conviction that conversion represents a radical break with the past. The same can be said of the other churches practising adult baptism which will be considered in this thesis.

In spite of similarities with all the above-mentioned churches, in one respect the I.E.P. differs from them all. In the Plymouth Brethren there is no ministerial privilege, but the government of the church is not democratic because the oversight chooses new members for itself without consulting the rest of those that are in fellowship. In the Presbyterian, Congregational and Baptist churches the government of the church is basically democratic, but the ministry is in practice hedged about with certain privileges. In the I.E.P. both ministry and church government were fully democratic. The result was that democratic principles were imposed on people who were not at all accustomed to them. Problems naturally arose but these were by no means insuperable except where they concerned the full-time ministry. Matters would be discussed in Presbytery and Synod session while the itinerant preacher, who probably knew more about the circumstances than anyone else, had to wait outside because he had not been elected as a delegate to that particular gathering. These itinerant preachers came to feel that they were being treated as if they were unimportant employees and to-day very few young men from a somewhat better cultural background are willing to undertake this vital work.

The position of settled pastors seemed at first to be more attractive, but when at last some of the central churches acquired sufficient financial resources to call pastors, the consistories had become so accustomed to holding the reins of power that they were jealous of the pastor's position. In at least two important churches deliberate use was made of the escape clause in the constitution, which allows consistories to take decisions without the pastors being there. The final result in both

¹⁰³ Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles*. p. 45.

cases was that the pastor resigned and to-day the central churches are finding it increasingly difficult to find pastors. The application of democratic principles to both the ministry and the government of the church gave great impetus to lay workers, but at the cost of the settled ministry. Ritchie did not at first intend to oppose pastors but his abolition of ministerial privileges in a democratically governed church had that effect. Ritchie's cardinal mistake was that he did not seem to realize that in order to function a settled ministry must have more authority than that which is derived from preaching.

e. The work in Cuzco and on the Urco farm

When Millham arrived in Cuzco in 1916, he found that the work had collapsed. He reopened the meetings and was encouraged by an initial attendance of 120. He planned to open a Bible school in Cuzco, but fell seriously ill ¹⁰⁴, and after his recovery these plans were not mentioned again for several years. In 1918 Mrs. Millham established a small day-school in Cuzco ¹⁰⁵, which was much appreciated and grew rapidly. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, during 1922 the Board in London reviewed the mission policy in Peru, and came to the conclusion that the E.U.S.A. should concentrate its efforts on the evangelization of the Quechua Indian. Work was to be opened in Sicuani, an important market town to the south of Cuzco, and a Bible school would be established in Cuzco itself ¹⁰⁶. When the Board deputation visited Peru in 1923, they found, however, that the work in Cuzco was proving difficult and unresponsive ¹⁰⁷, and the plans for a Bible school were again dropped.

Millham then started an English class so as to get in touch with the young people of the city, and this was very popular ¹⁰⁸. However, in 1925 the Millhams had to leave the altitude for health reasons and were transferred to the Argentine ¹⁰⁹. In 1929 after the presidential decree prohibiting Protestant instruction even in private schools, the Cuzco school was closed. Thanks to the intervention of the British ambassador it was soon reopened ¹¹⁰, but by this time mission policy was changing. At a E.U.S.A. conference held near London in April 1929, Thomas Cochrane of the World Dominion Press and Survey Application Trust, had emphasized that the great task of the mission was to evangelize and that missionaries should not allow themselves to be deflected from this aim by secondary claims ¹¹¹. Missionaries left Cuzco so as to start work

¹⁰⁴ *South America*, Lon. May/June 1917. p. 11 and Oct. 1917. pp. 70 f.

¹⁰⁵ *Idem*, July 1919. p. 63.

¹⁰⁶ Hennell's information about E.U.S.A. board meeting of Mar. 22, 1922.

¹⁰⁷ *South America*, Lon. Sept./Oct. 1923. p. 169.

¹⁰⁸ *Idem*, Jan./Feb. 1923. p. 99.

¹⁰⁹ *Idem*, July/Sept. 1921. p. 38.

¹¹⁰ *Idem*, Nov./Dec. 1929. p. 181.

¹¹¹ *Idem*, July/Aug. 1929. pp. 150 f.

in new areas and in 1931 the school had to be closed for lack of staff ¹¹². On more than one occasion Peruvians have expressed the opinion that this was the greatest mistake that the mission ever made in the southern Sierra. As far as Cuzco itself was concerned, the closure of the school was certainly a mistake, but the aim of the mission was to reach the Quechua Indians and by 1930 it was becoming increasingly clear that they would never be properly reached by means of a work in Cuzco itself.

At the end of 1931 John Savage was transferred from central Peru to Cuzco ¹¹³. Instead of ministering Sunday by Sunday to the congregation there, he sought to make the members realize their own responsibility. He undertook extended evangelistic tours during which the believers in Cuzco had to arrange their own services ¹¹⁴, but a year later Savage was complaining about a growing sense of nationalism among the believers ¹¹⁵. At the beginning of 1935 he set up a Bible school in Cuzco ¹¹⁶, but shortly afterwards lamented that after 30 years of work in the city the attendance at the Spanish-speaking meetings was meagre and there was no congregation of Quechua speaking believers ¹¹⁷. At the end of the year the Bible school was closed ¹¹⁸ and a year later Savage moved to Lima ¹¹⁹. The church in Cuzco passed through a long period in which it received almost no missionary help. Thanks to the perseverance of Jacinto Huamán, one of its members, the church was not completely disbanded ¹²⁰. After the war missionaries once again came to reside in Cuzco and helped the church back on to its feet. In 1957 the members in Cuzco completed a new church building largely financed by themselves ¹²¹, and at the end of 1959 they called their own pastor ¹²².

The vicissitudes of the Cuzco church have also been experienced by Protestant groups in other southern Sierra towns. It would seem that confronted by the Indian majority the mestizos adopt a siege mentality ¹²³, and are very hesitant to associate themselves with a Protestant church, much as they applaud its principles, for fear of breaking the common front against the Indian. Cuzco is a bad exception among the Sierra towns in that evangelistic efforts by its church members have failed to establish work among the Indians. Nowhere is the Indian so poverty-stricken and degraded as around the old Inca capital. Whether

¹¹² Idem, Sept./Oct. 1932. p. 78.

¹¹³ Idem, Lon. Jan./Feb. 1932.

¹¹⁴ Idem, Sept./Oct. 1932. p. 78.

¹¹⁵ Idem, July/Aug. 1933. p. 154.

¹¹⁶ Idem, Jan./Feb. 1935. p. 108.

¹¹⁷ Idem, March/April 1935. p. 125.

¹¹⁸ Idem, Jan./Feb. 1936.

¹¹⁹ Idem, Mar./April 1937. p. 126.

¹²⁰ Leslie Hoggarth's information.

¹²¹ *South America*, Jan./Mar. 1958. p. 72.

¹²² Idem, April/June 1960. p. 87.

¹²³ David Milne's information, relating particularly to the situation in Sicuani, but the writer has noted the same attitude among Cuzqueños and the inhabitants of other southern Sierra towns.

this is a legacy of the Inca or of the Spanish rule is unclear, but the fact remains that the distinction between mestizo and Indian is nowhere sharper than at Cuzco, and that Cuzco has proved to be the least propitious place from which to reach the Indian.

The fact that the plans made in 1922 called for a restriction not only of the work in central Peru, but also of the activities at the Urco farm, shows that in spite of the undoubted good the farm was doing in other directions, it was not fulfilling its primary intention of reaching the Indian. Forga's idea had been that Indians should be allowed to settle on the farm so that they could send their children to school unmolested; not that the mission should become involved in farming operations. Job's idea of reaching the Indian by means of a demonstration of new farming methods, seemed very plausible, but overlooked the vital consideration that it was impossible to demonstrate farming methods on anything but a miniature scale, without the mission becoming inextricably involved in all the social and economic problems of a big Sierra farm.

Job and Payne went to great pains to treat the Indians kindly¹²⁴, but after centuries of oppression it was inevitable that some of them should misunderstand and misuse the consideration with which they were suddenly being treated. Already in 1916 stealing was reported¹²⁵, and in the course of years this problem grew worse rather than better. Indians were certainly baptized at Urco, and a meeting was built up, but the Quechua preaching was done by mestizos, and the work among the Indians possessed no permanence. As with the industrial mission in Cuzco, and in spite of the vigilance of the missionaries, the Indians were tempted to show interest in the religious meetings in the hope of ingratiating themselves with their employers. Furthermore as both in the religious and the agricultural work the emphasis was continually being laid on what the mission could do for the downtrodden Indians, these never felt the need of giving themselves to the ministry, and no Indian preachers were raised up at Urco. The result was that when Indians came from outside to enquire about the new agricultural methods, it was impossible to send an evangelist back with them to their village¹²⁶. These factors applied much less to the many mestizos who visited the farm, and much was done for them, but this was not the purpose for which Urco had been established.

The curtailments proposed by the Board in 1922 were opposed by Payne, the farm administrator, and nothing was done¹²⁷. Matters drifted till 1936, when the field executive almost unanimously recommended that the property be liquidated. Payne then sent an earnest plea to the Board that he be allowed to rent the farm and administer it on an

¹²⁴ *Regions Beyond*, Jan. 1909. p. 17.

¹²⁵ *South America*, Lon. Aug. 1917. p. 56.

¹²⁶ *Idem*, July/Aug. 1927. pp. 153 ff.

¹²⁷ Hennell's information.

independent basis, and the Board agreed to this proposal ¹²⁸. After the death of his son Ronald who had gone to Urco to establish a clinic, Thomas Payne returned to England in 1939. In view of the threat of war and the fact that the missionaries might need a place of refuge, the field executive then decided not to sell the farm. However, no provision was made for an administrator and the lady missionary left in charge at Urco, finally cabled to Payne, who returned from England to take charge again ¹²⁹. Matters stayed as they were till 1947 when the Board drew up plans to make Urco an Indian training centre ¹³⁰. By this time, however, the Indian work had become solidly established in areas far removed from Urco and the field executive wished to sell the farm. As a compromise the farm was then leased for ten years, but this arrangement also proved to be unsatisfactory and in 1963 Alfred and Isabelle Bell of the E.U.S.A. took over the administration. Since then good progress has been made towards re-establishing the farm's financial position and in addition some spiritual conferences have been held there. The future of the farm is, however, still uncertain.

f. The development of the Indian work in the Sicuani, Andahuaylas and Ayaviri regions

In 1924 the E.U.S.A. still had only four mission stations in Peru ¹³¹, and among the younger missionaries there was a great desire to move out of the compounds at Cuzco and Urco into the unreached areas of the southern Sierra ¹³². In March 1925 Len Herniman and his wife moved from Cuzco to Sicuani where he started meetings ¹³³. He soon discovered that it was almost as difficult to reach the Indian from Sicuani as it was from Cuzco. Early in 1926 visits were made to Combapata, a small town to the north of Sicuani ¹³⁴, and there an Indian from Huantura, a small village just to the north of Combapata, offered Herniman a site on which to build a church and a school. Work was begun immediately and apart from a small mission expenditure for the windows, door and corrugated iron roof, the Indians did everything themselves. The government in Lima sent a licence in October ¹³⁵ and the school was officially inaugurated in February 1927 ¹³⁶. In 1929 the presidential decree to which reference has already been made forced the closure of the school, but by that time a work had already been established. With the aid of a native helper Herniman started to translate

¹²⁸ *South America*, Lon. Nov./Dec. 1936. p. 106.

¹²⁹ Margaret Smith's information and recollection.

¹³⁰ *South America*, April/June 1947. p. 85.

¹³¹ Idem, July/Aug. 1924. (The four stations were Lima, Arequipa, Cuzco and Urco.)

¹³² Alexander Jardine's recollection.

¹³³ *South America*, July/Aug. 1925. p. 150.

¹³⁴ Idem, Mar./April 1926. p. 20.

¹³⁵ Idem, Jan./Feb. 1927. pp. 99-101.

¹³⁶ Idem, May/June 1927. p. 138.

the New Testament into Quechua ¹³⁷, and in 1940 he was loaned to the A.B.S. for two years to finish the job ¹³⁸. In January 1931 Herniman opened the first short-term Bible school for the training of Indian workers ¹³⁹. These Bible schools have been held for a month in every year and have proved very worthwhile. Huantara is a purely Indian village, relatively untroubled by the tension between the mestizo and the Indian, and it was here that the E.U.S.A. established the first Indian church to produce its own ministry.

In September 1927 the missionary nurses Ethel Pinn and Dorothy Michell left Cuzco to start work in Pitumarca, a large Indian village somewhat to the north of Huantara ¹⁴⁰, but they had little success. In 1934 Miss Pinn went to Paucartambo ¹⁴¹, and a year later she and Miss Michell rode for weeks on a muleback to the isolated region around Andahuaylas. First they settled in Chincheros ¹⁴², and then in 1936 in Talavera, a small town just to the north of Andahuaylas ¹⁴³. Their persistence was finally rewarded and a lasting church has been established at Talavera. In the following year two Indian evangelists, Alejandro Mamani and Saturnino Valeriano, came from the Ayaviri region to help start the work in the outlying districts ¹⁴⁴, and in this way the whole area was opened for Protestant evangelism. True to the general pattern the work in Andahuaylas, the provincial capital, has proved difficult and slow. In 1946 Kenneth Case and Florencio Segura started translating the New Testament into the Quechua dialect of that region ¹⁴⁵. This work was later continued under the auspices of the A.B.S. and was finally finished in 1959 ¹⁴⁶.

The work in the Ayaviri area is of particular interest because the indigenous principles, which the E.U.S.A. Board in London came to espouse around the year 1930, were applied to it from the very beginning. Alexander Jardine and his wife returned from furlough in 1931 and established themselves in Ayaviri in September of that year ¹⁴⁷. Instead of hiring a hall and starting meetings, they began by distributing tracts and talking to all who would listen, praying that God would give them bi-lingual leaders through whom they could reach the Indians whose language they did not speak ¹⁴⁸. Within a month ¹⁴⁹ somebody

¹³⁷ Idem, May/June 1928.

¹³⁸ Idem, Jan./Feb. 1940. and April/June 1942. p. 10.

¹³⁹ Idem, May/June 1931. p. 136.

¹⁴⁰ Idem, Jan./Feb. 1928. p. 13.

¹⁴¹ Idem, July/Aug. 1934. p. 95.

¹⁴² Idem, July/Aug. 1935. p. 159.

¹⁴³ Idem, Nov./Dec. 1936. p. 102.

¹⁴⁴ Kenneth G. Case, History of the work in the Apurimac Region. Unpublished manuscript in the possession of the E.U.S.A. Lon.

¹⁴⁵ Idem.

¹⁴⁶ *South America*, April/June 1960. p. 88.

¹⁴⁷ Idem, Sept./Oct. 1932. p. 76.

¹⁴⁸ Jardine, Beginnings of the Indigenous Work in the Region of Ayaviri. Manuscript in the writer's possession.

¹⁴⁹ Jardine, Overcoming Difficulties in Peru. *World Dominion*, Lon. April 1938. p. 183.

asked Jardine why he had not started meetings like the other missionaries. To this Jardine replied that he would be happy to do so if somebody gave him an invitation. A room was then offered on the outskirts of the town. There were no seats, but the service started and the Indians came in and sat on the floor. Soon several people professed conversion, and Jardine sent three of them to the short-term Bible school that Herniman had arranged in Huantura in January 1932¹⁵⁰. Two of these students became the bi-lingual leaders for whom the Jardines had prayed. On their way back from Huantura these men visited several Indian villages and told of the things they had seen and heard, with the result that the Jardines soon received invitations from places far removed from Ayaviri, and the work started developing all over the province.

In 1939, 15 churches and groups were already in existence¹⁵¹, and by 1947 their number had grown to over 25¹⁵². Beginning in 1933 short-term Bible schools were organized in the Ayaviri region. As most of the students could not speak Spanish, all the lessons were given by interpretation¹⁵³. Many who could not read or write were taught to do so. The Jardines were gifted Bible teachers and these short-term Bible schools have fulfilled a most important function in the life of the churches. During the year 1933 Jardine visited central Peru in order to attend the field executive meetings, and was very impressed by the development of the churches there¹⁵⁴. In March of the following year he organized the first quarterly convention in the Ayaviri region which immediately proved the value of such gatherings. A business session was held and a simple organization was set up to govern the eight affiliated groups and to provide for the support of an itinerant preacher¹⁵⁵. As in central Peru the churches and groups were self-supporting, except that the mission contributed towards the support of the itinerant preachers. In 1939 the Huantura and Ayaviri regions joined in their first united conventions¹⁵⁶, and since then such conventions have been held every year with much success, one year at Occubamba in the Ayaviri area and the next at Huantura.

In 1935 Jardine wrote that he was amazed how little he had to do¹⁵⁷. The work among the mestizos was disappointing¹⁵⁸, but among the Indians, both inside and outside the town of Ayaviri, the development was largely spontaneous and has been cited as a classic example of what can be achieved by New Testament methods. This region has produced more Indian evangelists than any other served by the E.U.S.A. and at

¹⁵⁰ Maisie Jardine, *First the Blade*. Lon. 1946. E.U.S.A. publication. p. 14.

¹⁵¹ *South America*, Sept./Oct. 1939. p. 171.

¹⁵² Jardine, *Beginnings of the Indigenous Work in the Region of Ayaviri*.

¹⁵³ *South America*, May/June 1933.

¹⁵⁴ Jardine's letter to the writer, dated Jan. 10, 1966.

¹⁵⁵ *South America*, July/Aug. 1934. p. 61.

¹⁵⁶ Idem, Nov./Dec. 1939. p. 179.

¹⁵⁷ Idem, July/Aug. 1935. p. 159.

¹⁵⁸ Idem, Jan./Feb. 1936. p. 30.

one moment had no less than eleven itinerant preachers. Furthermore evangelists from Ayaviri played an important part in the start of the work in Andahuaylas, Callalli and Yauri regions. The methods used by the Jardines certainly helped this development forward in that the initiative was left to the Indians from the beginning, but it is also true that the region possessed advantages. Mestizos are not attracted to Ayaviri, which lies on a cold, treeless plateau 13,000 feet above sea-level and the Indians are therefore freer to manage their own affairs than in the Cuzco or Sicuani regions. Furthermore the Ayaviri area is considerably more accessible than that around Andahuaylas. The railway line from Arequipa to Cuzco runs through the middle of the plateau and roads were already being built over the flat terrain in 1930. The combined effect of freedom from mestizo interference and contact with the outside world made the Ayaviri Indians anxious to improve their lot and created a favourable climate for the development of the lay ministry.

In spite of these advantages and of the Jardine's faithful labours the work in the Ayaviri region has been unable to maintain its momentum. Already in 1949 there were clear signs of stagnation¹⁵⁹, and by 1962 there were many cases of indifference and backsliding¹⁶⁰. A similar declension which took place in the I.E.P. churches in central Peru between the years 1927 and 1938¹⁶¹, can partly be attributed to a lack of teaching, but this reason did not apply to the work in the southern Sierra. In addition to the short-term Bible schools which were continued as before, in 1950 the Jardines opened an institute in Sicuani with a three year course for the training of full-time workers¹⁶². However, between the years 1956 and 1962 the Sicuani Bible Institute was closed down partly due to a lack of staff¹⁶³, but also because of a lack of applicants¹⁶⁴. If churches need a Bible training ministry to remain healthy, it is also true that a Bible training ministry needs healthy churches to supply it with candidates. The difficulty of finding and of keeping pastors, which was another cause of the spiritual stagnation in central Peru, either did not arise in southern Peru because the churches were too small to warrant pastors or was considerably mitigated by the more subservient character of the people. As soon as its economical position made this possible, the Cuzco church installed a pastor and he has stayed there till now. Although neither is ordained as yet, Alejandro Mamani is in effect pastor at Ayaviri and Saturnino Valeriano fulfils the same role in Sicuani.

The lack of progress in the south is often attributed to the failure of the E.U.S.A. missionaries "to grapple seriously with the evangelization

¹⁵⁹ Leslie Hoggarth's information.

¹⁶⁰ David Milne's letter to the writer, dated May 7, 1962.

¹⁶¹ *South America*, Jan./Feb. 1938. pp. 5 and 23.

¹⁶² Idem, July/Sept. 1950.

¹⁶³ Idem, Jan./Mar. 1963. p. 5.

¹⁶⁴ Kenneth Grubb, *The E.U.S.A. in Peru*. Unpublished manuscript.

of the Indian in his own tongue”¹⁶⁵. The fact that the Jardines did all their work by interpretation certainly discouraged several younger missionaries from the extremely hard task of learning Quechua, but this factor although important must not be overrated. The work at Ayaviri is now in the hands of native preachers who speak Quechua as their mother tongue, while the number of Indians who can also understand Spanish is continually rising and yet the general development of the church seems to be little affected. Much more important is the failure to work out the social implications of the Gospel in the communal life of the Indians. The appeal was directed to the individual, rather than to the group and it is a pity that so little could be done to establish primary schools for the Indian children. Some of the E.U.S.A. missionaries felt that this was not part of their spiritual task, but such an attitude was by no means general. At Urco a school was maintained right up till 1951, but elsewhere in the Indian country such an initiative would have met the combined opposition of the local authorities, the big landowners and the priests. The same can be said for any other project that the missionaries could have undertaken in the southern Sierra. Further to the south the Adventists succeeded in establishing permanent schools among the Aymarás, but their work among the Quechuas has proved to be considerably less successful, so that the evangelization of these Indians continues to be a problem.

g. The E.U.S.A. work in Arequipa

As the Protestant church in this town developed, the education of the members’ children proved to be a great difficulty. In 1922 a son of one of the believers was thought to have been poisoned with strychnine at the school he was attending. Fortunately he recovered, but when the father demanded a legal investigation, the boy was expelled from the school¹⁶⁶. This incident among others led to a school being founded in Arequipa for Protestant children in March 1923¹⁶⁷. The school was also very much appreciated by Roman Catholic parents because of its high standard of education. By 1929 it had an enrolment of 120 children and had outgrown the mission building¹⁶⁸. The mission, using a legacy it had received, then bought the present property. It was called the John Lumsden Memorial building, and an inscription in the courtyard commemorated the fact that it had been dedicated to the service of Peru. Shortly afterwards a daughter church was built in a suburb of Arequipa with funds collected over many years by members of the parent church¹⁶⁹. The presidential decree of 1929, prohibiting Protestant in-

¹⁶⁵ Grubb, Op. Cit.

¹⁶⁶ *South America*, July/Aug. 1922. p. 56.

¹⁶⁷ Idem, Nov./Dec. 1924. p. 92.

¹⁶⁸ Idem, May/June 1930. p. 70.

¹⁶⁹ Idem, Sept./Oct. 1932. p. 84.

Grace Sewell’s letter to the writer, dated Feb. 14, 1966.

struction even in private schools, was aimed chiefly at the schools which had been established among the Indians, and Arequipa, whose population is overwhelmingly mestizo, was not affected. Neither was the Arequipa school affected by the change of mission policy around the year 1930. The mission station was left without men missionaries, but ladies under the leadership of Susan Pritchard, who had come to work in Arequipa as a missionary nurse in 1909¹⁷⁰, continued the work of the station and of the only school left to the E.U.S.A. in Peru. The spiritual side of the work was not neglected and a Scripture Union branch was also established among the pupils¹⁷¹. Up to 1929 the church had a native pastor paid by the mission, but when the mission decided that it could no longer pay for settled pastors, it was led and governed by its elected elders¹⁷². For a time things went well, but then Miss Pritchard wrote that many of the young people in the church, who at first had given so much promise, were costing them many a heartache, and that they needed the help of a man¹⁷³.

After completing three years of successful work in central Peru, William Speed and his wife were transferred to Arequipa in 1940. The Peruvians who had been leading the church, resented what they considered to be mission interference. They pointed out that the central building had been dedicated to the service of Peru and that they, therefore, had a right to it. Finally it was arranged that those Peruvians who were in disagreement with the missionary in charge of the station should form an independent church and take over the building in the suburb. The mission retained control of the central building in which the school was housed, and in order to avoid future misunderstandings, the school assembly hall was let to the main church for a nominal rent¹⁷⁴. The division has lasted to this day, although recently relations between the two groups have improved. Towards the end of 1942 the Hawleys replaced the Speeds in Arequipa. They started preaching the Gospel by radio¹⁷⁵, which was then a novelty in a town that had a reputation for being so strongly Roman Catholic, and they also started a bookstore¹⁷⁶. Hawley's most important contribution, however, was to train a future native ministry. He took a preacher's class and a Bible study during the week, but encouraged the young people to lead and to preach at the Sunday evening evangelistic services¹⁷⁷. In 1946 the Hawleys left, and after that, as far as the pulpit ministry was concerned, the Arequipa church had to rely on its own elders, except on the occasions that a male missionary happened to be passing by. Miss Pritchard served on the

¹⁷⁰ *South America*, July/Sept. 1960. p. 109 (Obituary).

¹⁷¹ *Idem*, July/Aug. 1934. p. 74.

¹⁷² Grace Sewell's letter to the writer dated Feb. 14, 1966.

¹⁷³ *South America*, Mar./April 1937. p. 143.

¹⁷⁴ Susan Pritchard's recollection;

Dorothy Michell's letter to the writer dated Feb. 5, 1966.

¹⁷⁵ *South America*, Oct./Dec. 1942. p. 29.

¹⁷⁶ *Idem*, April/June 1946. p. 59.

¹⁷⁷ Felix Calle's recollection.

consistory as treasurer, but in 1955 she felt that the time had come to give up this post. Francisco Rojas, one of the ex-pupils of the school, who had worked his way up in business and had become the natural leader in the church, was then chosen as part-time pastor ¹⁷⁸.

Since 1955 the church has passed through great difficulties, but has recovered remarkably well. The radio ministry continues, and eight daughter churches have been established in the suburbs. The bookstore has been reduced to a book depot, but the school is once again overflowing its building and has recently added a secondary department. Through the years the work at Arequipa has probably been the most successful of the E.U.S.A. activities in Peru. The work there cannot be compared to that in the Sierra towns, because Arequipa has the great advantage of possessing a more or less homogeneous society. What makes the development in Arequipa so interesting is that it compares so favourably with that in other coastal towns. It has often been stated in E.U.S.A. circles that the churches which have been helped the least, are the strongest ¹⁷⁹. Yet the Arequipa church which has had to pay very little for its building and which could always rely on the help of resident missionaries, has prospered much more than the churches in places like Nazca and Mollendo, which have hardly had any missionary help. At the same time the church in Arequipa has in general been much less troubled by nationalism than the church in Lima, where men missionaries have always been present. This would indicate that it is not the presence of a missionary that hinders the development of a native church, but the tendency of the men missionaries to take the initiative in church matters.

Arequipa has undoubtedly been blessed in the person of Miss Pritchard. Throughout her long years of service she kept herself in the background as far as church affairs were concerned, although at the unanimous request of the Peruvians she did manage the treasury. The fact that the management of church funds was above suspicion, probably played a big part in the general stability of the work and may help to explain why mission subsidy did not have adverse consequences in this case. Arequipa has also been greatly helped by the school. Far from being a hindrance, this "secondary objective", as many in the E.U.S.A. came to consider it after 1930, amply justified the presence of the missionaries without making them feel obliged to occupy themselves with church affairs, and more important still, the presence of the school gave the church members an opportunity to concern themselves with social as well as evangelistic work.

¹⁷⁸ *South America*, Oct./Dec. 1955. p. 62.

¹⁷⁹ *South America*, April/June 1941. p. 51;
McNairn's letter to the writer dated Feb. 10, 1951.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CHRISTIAN AND MISSIONARY ALLIANCE WORK IN PERU AND THE LATER HISTORY OF THE IGLESIA EVANGELICA PERUANA

a. The establishment of C.M.A. work in Peru

As related at the end of the third chapter, the C.M.A. paid Bright's passage to Peru in 1893. Later one of their missionaries spent some time in Callao and paid a visit to Huancayo ¹, but the C.M.A. did not undertake anything further in Peru till 1923, when a Board member and three missionaries made a survey of the northern and central jungle areas ². It was decided to start work among the lowland Indians of Amazonia and to establish a base at Iquitos, which had yet not been occupied by any Protestant mission ³. In May 1925 four young men arrived in Lima, with the object of learning Spanish and of making further explorations. In August of the following year three of them established themselves at Cahuapanas among the Campa Indians ⁴. At first the Indians were hostile ⁵, but the missionaries, under the direction of their leader Ray Clark, started to clear ten acres of jungle ⁶, and in 1928 began making visits in the region as a result of which their first real contact was established with the Indians ⁷. Work was offered to the Indians on the Cahuapanas plantation ⁸, a day school started and a store opened ⁹. As many as 60 Indians came to the religious services ¹⁰. However, in 1926 Iquitos was occupied by the Inland South American Missionary Union ¹¹, and as Cahuapanas lies on the headwaters of the Amazon and could then be reached far more easily from Iquitos than from Lima, the work was handed over to the care of the Inland South American Missionary Union in 1934 ¹².

¹ *Eighth Annual Report of the International Missionary Alliance*, March 1897; *First annual report of the C.M.A.*, 1897-8.

² *Missionary Atlas*, published by C.M.A. N.Y. 1924 edition.

³ *Annual Report of the C.M.A.*, 1923-4.

⁴ Ray B. Clark, *Under the Southern Cross*. Harrisburg, Pa. 1938. pp. 192 f.

⁵ *Annual report of the C.M.A.*, 1925-6.

⁶ *Annual report of the C.M.A.*, 1926-7.

⁷ Clark, Op. Cit. pp. 193 f.

⁸ *Annual report of the C.M.A.*, 1927-8.

⁹ *Idem*, 1930-1.

¹⁰ Clark, Op. Cit. p. 194.

¹¹ Kenneth G. Grubb, *The Lowland Indians of Amazonia*. Lon. 1927. pp. 82 f.

¹² *Missionary Atlas*, (C.M.A.), 1936 edition; *Annual Report of the C.M.A.*, 1933.

The work which the E.U.S.A. had started at Huánuco in 1915, collapsed after Webster Smith's departure in 1918¹³ in spite of the fact that the E.U.S.A. continued to support a national pastor there¹⁴. In March 1926 one of the C.M.A. missionaries established himself at Huánuco and at first concentrated his attention on the town itself¹⁵. In 1928 a day school was opened which proved to be a considerable attraction. By the end of 1928 the future of the work looked promising, but the activities were still largely dependent on the foreign missionary. Then in 1929 missionaries and national workers started itinerating in the Huánuco region. In October 1929 the first business and Bible convention was held in Huánuco and nine believers from groups outside the town were present. At the next convention in April 1930 the attendance was the same, but at the third convention it rose to twenty-nine¹⁶, and after that there was a rapid and largely spontaneous expansion in the Huánuco area, similar to that which had taken place in the region between Cerro de Pasco and Huncayo some ten years earlier.

In 1928 it was arranged between Ritchie and the C.M.A. that the whole of the department of Huánuco, plus the northern section of the department of Lima and a part of the capital itself be assigned to the C.M.A.¹⁷, on the understanding that it should help in the building up of I.E.P. churches in these areas¹⁸. The C.M.A. then still retained much of its early character of an association of missionary minded people drawn from many denominations, and there was nothing in the constitution or practice of the I.E.P. churches which contradicted the principles which guided the C.M.A. in its work. After Ritchie had left Lima, the C.M.A. and the E.U.S.A. decided to co-operate even more closely than before¹⁹. The most important fruit of this new resolve, was the three month Bible school held in Lima at the beginning of 1930. Twenty-seven students came from various parts of Peru, and missionaries from the E.U.S.A., C.M.A. and F.C.S. missions took part²⁰. The success of this venture served as a stimulus for starting the short-term Bible schools in various parts of the territory occupied by the E.U.S.A. and the C.M.A. and of the long-term Peruvian Bible Institute which began in 1933 with eight students in a suburb of Lima with Ray Clark as its director²¹.

¹³ *South America*, Lon. July 1919. p. 62.

¹⁴ Minutes of Field Executive meetings held in Arequipa. Jan. 31–Feb. 6, 1919 in the writer's possession.

¹⁵ *Missionary Atlas*, (C.M.A.), 1936 edition.

¹⁶ Clark, Op. Cit. pp. 200–204.

¹⁷ Idem, p. 197;

Missionary Atlas, (C.M.A.), 1936 edition;

Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles in Theory and Practice*. N.Y. 1946. p. 51.

¹⁸ Clark's recollection and information;
Annual report of the C.M.A., 1930–31.

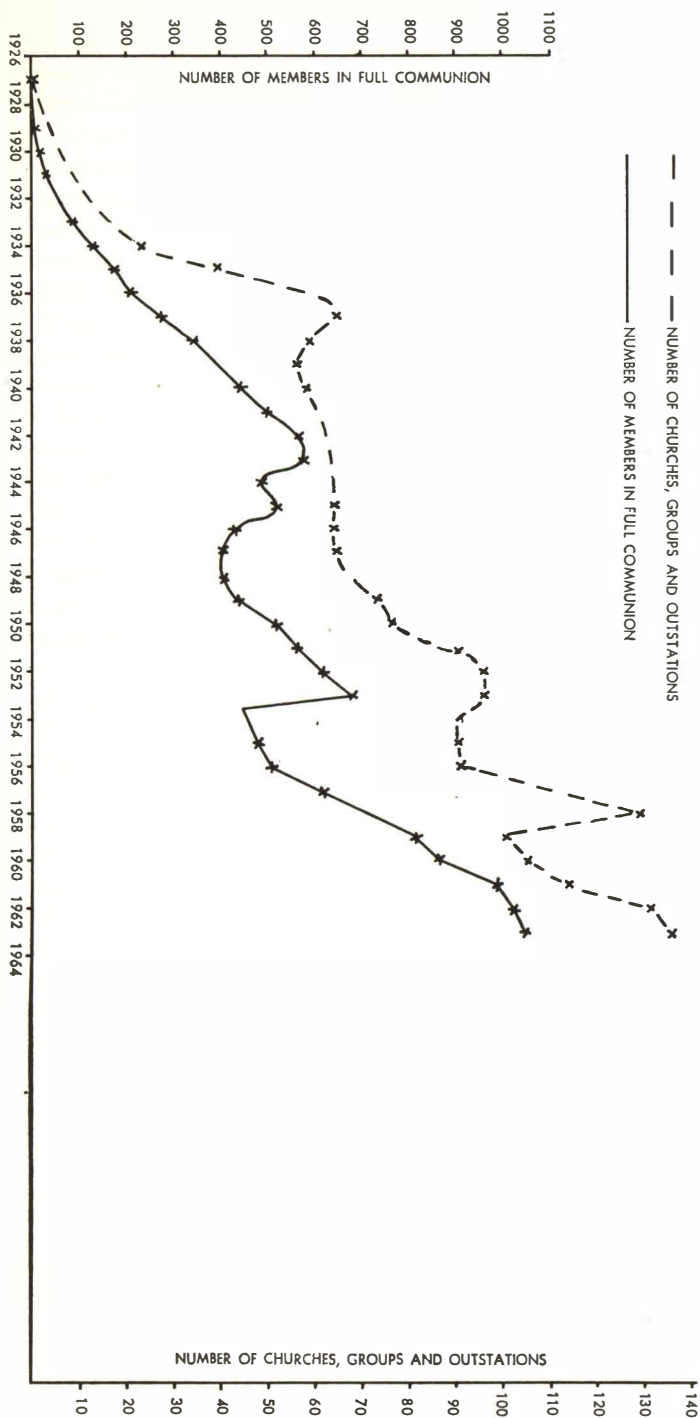
¹⁹ Clark, Op. Cit. p. 208.

²⁰ Idem;

Annual report of the C.M.A., 1929–30.

²¹ *Annual reports of the C.M.A.*, 1932 and 33.

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In January 1930, Carl Volstad started a new I.E.P. church in Lima ²². A little later work was started in Huacho ²³, where Bright had laid the original foundations, but progress in this region was slow ²⁴. It was in the Huánuco area that the work grew fastest. Because of the success of its early itinerant evangelism the C.M.A. abandoned entirely the institutional approach and wholeheartedly joined with the E.U.S.A. in the adoption of so-called "indigenous principles". The day school at Huánuco was closed in 1932 ²⁵, and the missionaries devoted all their energies to evangelism and the holding of a yearly short-term Bible school at Huánuco. By 1933 six groups were ready to be organized as churches ²⁶, and four years later there were 15 churches and 50 self-supporting groups in the C.M.A. areas. By 1937 five Presbyteries had been organized in the Huánuco region, but progress slowed "due largely to the fact that the regions were not yet capable of sustaining themselves without more frequent visits from the missionaries or the native workers" ²⁷. The number of organized churches did not decrease but by 1940 there were only 28 self-supporting groups instead of fifty ²⁸. The loss of these small groups was compensated by growth in the Tingo María area ²⁹, but although the membership of a few of the churches did show some further increase, the work as a whole remained stationary till 1949. The work in the Huánuco region resembled that in the department of Junin, in that a rapid initial advance was followed by a falling off in the outlying areas and a stagnation at the bigger centres.

b. The disagreements about how the growth of the I.E.P. should be promoted

When Ritchie took up work in New York in 1929 it seemed as if he had left Peru permanently. The missionaries who took over the work after him, particularly those of the C.M.A., were favourably impressed by the work that he had built up ³⁰. There were, however, some aspects that gave cause for concern. In the first place the rapid growth in the department of Junin had largely come to a halt. Many of the churches and groups nearest to the railway line which, because of their accessibility, had received the greatest help from missionaries, were proving to be the least satisfactory ³¹, but also churches which had been founded comparatively recently were not showing any increase in membership ³².

²² *Missionary Atlas*, (C.M.A.), 1936 edition.

Annual report of the C.M.A., 1929-30.

²³ *Annual report of the C.M.A.*, 1934.

²⁴ *Idem*.

²⁵ Clark, Op. Cit. p. 200.

²⁶ *Annual report of the C.M.A.*, 1933.

²⁷ *Idem*, 1937.

²⁸ *Idem*, 1940.

²⁹ *Idem*, 1942.

³⁰ *Missionary Atlas*, (C.M.A.), 1936 edition.

³¹ *Adelante*, (Official organ of the I.E.P. synod). Lima mayo 1931.

³² *Idem*, mayo 1932.

By 1930 there were about 500 communicants in the areas in central Peru in which the E.U.S.A. was at work, and yet eight years later, in spite of the extension of the work to the departments of Huancavelica and Ayacucho, the province of Huarochiri and the coastal region south of Lima, this figure had only risen to 617. In this period the membership of the I.E.P. nearly doubled, but three quarters of this increase occurred in the regions where the C.M.A. was at work ³³.

Secondly, there was a spirit of nationalism among many of the I.E.P. members in and around Lima. In part this was a reflection of the general reaction against Leguía's subservience to foreign business interests, but it was also caused by the division in Lima to which reference has been made in the previous chapter, and which an outside observer described as "a secession from Mr. Ritchie's church on nationalistic grounds" ³⁴. Thirdly, the Peruvian leaders of the I.E.P. were becoming increasingly absorbed in matters related to the organization of the church. During the Synod in Huancayo held in 1929, John Savage noticed that business sessions almost crowded out meetings for edification ³⁵. Originally Ritchie had arranged that during the Synods three days of business sessions should be followed by three days of meetings for the deepening of spiritual life ³⁶, but often the agenda could not be completed in the allotted time, and delegates found it increasingly difficult to absent themselves from their work for the full six days. The missionaries who succeeded Ritchie, felt that some changes were necessary to correct these three weaknesses, but Ritchie, who soon came to the conclusion that he had made a mistake in going to New York ³⁷, and who returned to Lima in 1931 as agent for the A.B.S.³⁸, felt that these changes would spoil the future growth of the I.E.P.³⁹. The resulting controversy raised important issues, and deeply influenced the future of the C.M.A. in Peru.

The E.U.S.A. Board believed that "El Inca" was absorbing time and energy, which could more profitably be spent on a teaching ministry within the I.E.P., and so after Ritchie's resignation the printing plant was sold and the bookstore was reduced to an inconveniently located depot selling only religious literature ⁴⁰. Ritchie no longer disputed the decision to sell the printing press, but maintained that the virtual closing of the old bookstore contributed to a decline in book reading among the church members, especially of those books which stimulated their general intellectual development ⁴¹. Furthermore the bookstore was much more than merely a means of selling literature. Interested people came

³³ Kenneth Grubb, 1938 Supplement on Peru to The West Coast Republics of South America. Lon. 1930.

³⁴ Report to the 1928 G.A. F.C.S.

³⁵ Savage's recollection. (He had then just arrived in Peru as a missionary.)

³⁶ Ritchie, Op. Cit. p. 43.

³⁷ Juan de Dios Guerrero's information.

³⁸ *South America*, Nov./Dec. 1931. p. 178.

³⁹ Ritchie, Op. Cit. pp. 51 f.

⁴⁰ *South America*, Lon. Nov./Dec. 1929. p. 181.

⁴¹ Ritchie, Op. Cit. p. 64.

there from all over Peru asking for advice and help, and it is now recognized that the reduction of "El Inca" to a book depot was a mistake⁴². For a time even the depot was closed⁴³, but fortunately in 1945 Savage was able to reopen "El Inca" as a bookstore⁴⁴. The role which "El Inca" played, and still plays, in the development of the native church is undoubtedly important, but it must be remembered that by 1929 it was becoming clear that a native ministry could not be built up solely by means of literature. Ritchie fully admitted that the outstanding achievement of his successors was the establishment of short-term Bible schools and of conventions for the deepening of spiritual life⁴⁵. The closing of the old bookstore was a big mistake, but at least it liberated resources for important new developments.

During his early years in Peru Ritchie had come to the conclusion that the stagnation of many congregations was due to the tendency of the members to rely too heavily on their settled pastors. In the same way the missionaries who succeeded Ritchie, attributed the stagnation of many of the I.E.P. congregations to the fact that they were relying too heavily on the visits of mission-paid preachers. The fact that churches which had received the greatest number of visits were often the least satisfactory, was regarded as a proof of this contention. At the suggestion of these missionaries the Board of the Synod recommended in 1930 that those preachers who were paid by the mission be sent to unevangelized fields⁴⁶. This step was formally agreed to at the Synod held in Huánuco in 1931, and at the same time the Presbyteries were encouraged to collect money for the support of new preachers to help the existing churches⁴⁷. Ritchie objected to this new policy because experience had taught him that young churches in Peru could not survive without some outside help⁴⁸ and that such help could be given without undermining their vitality⁴⁹. Among other things, visits were needed by someone who could smooth out local disagreements⁵⁰, and this was a task which demanded more wisdom and experience than could be expected of the new preachers to whom the churches were now being entrusted.

Ritchie also disagreed with the way that the mission-paid preachers were being used. Instead of going to places where they had been invited, they were now being sent to places which had not invited them, and their work was much less effective⁵¹. Ritchie was right on both points,

⁴² Kenneth Grubb, *The E.U.S.A. in Peru*. Unpublished manuscript in possession of the E.U.S.A. Lon.

⁴³ *South America*, April/June 1946. p. 23.

⁴⁴ *Idem*, Oct./Dec. 1945. p. 87.

⁴⁵ Ritchie, *Op. Cit.* p. 59.

⁴⁶ *Adelante*, setiembre 1930.

⁴⁷ *Idem*, mayo. 1932.

⁴⁸ Ritchie, *Op. Cit.* p. 68.

⁴⁹ *Idem*. p. 54.

⁵⁰ *Idem*. p. 58.

⁵¹ *Idem*. p. 51.

and as has already been mentioned, the C.M.A. missionaries in the Huánuco region realized by 1937 that their advance in the outlying areas was slowing down through a lack in visitation, and arranged that Bible school students should work these sections during their vacations⁵². The fact that the churches in the department of Junín did not improve in spiritual health when they were obliged to find and support their own preachers, shows that the stagnation in their growth was not in this case due to an excessive reliance on outside help. The number of visits which even the most favoured churches outside Lima received was small and could not in any way have dulled the incentive for a voluntary ministry. The unsatisfactory state of the churches along the railway line was due to the fact that they had been planted earlier than the remoter groups and had, therefore, had more time to lose their original freshness.

Ritchie had been elected chairman of the Synod Board in every year up to 1927⁵³. After that a Peruvian was made chairman, but E.U.S.A. and C.M.A. missionaries continued to play a decisive role in the affairs of the Synod⁵⁴. Under the influence of Roland Allen's ideas about the indigenous church the missionaries who succeeded Ritchie came to feel that their intervention was preventing the Peruvians from fully feeling their responsibility. Furthermore they wished to demonstrate to those outside the church that the I.E.P. was not dominated by foreign missionaries, and so at their suggestion, the Synod held in Huánuco in 1931 decided that in future its Board should be composed exclusively of Peruvians⁵⁵. At the time the Peruvians were glad of this decision⁵⁶, but the unfortunate result was that confusion and strife among themselves followed⁵⁷ and that the Synod Board became largely ineffective⁵⁸. The delegates to the next Synod meeting, which was held in Palcamayo, tried to improve matters by electing a E.U.S.A. missionary who was of South American extraction as secretary-treasurer of the Board⁵⁹. This only aroused nationalistic feelings⁶⁰, which were later further aroused when other missionaries, in an effort to help, tried to take back some of the powers they had given away in 1931.

According to Ritchie nationalism was provoked because the decision taken in Huánuco in 1931 drew lines of discrimination between missionaries and the nationals, in the government of the church, which had not existed before⁶¹. Ritchie was largely right in this, but his insistence

⁵² *Annual report of the C.M.A.*, 1937.

⁵³ Ritchie, *Op. Cit.* p. 45.

⁵⁴ *South America*, Nov./Dec. 1931. p. 180.

⁵⁵ Ladislao Barreto, *Apuntes históricos de la Iglesia Libre del Perú*. Morococha 1942. p. 27.

⁵⁶ *South America*, Nov./Dec. 1931. p. 178; *Adelante*, noviembre 1934.

⁵⁷ Ray B. Clark, Paper on Indigenous Methods. Written about 1938.

⁵⁸ Ritchie, *Op. Cit.* p. 58.

⁵⁹ *Actas del Sínodo de Morococha*, 24-25 y 30-31 de julio. 1933.

⁶⁰ *Adelante*, enero 1933.

⁶¹ Ritchie, *Op. Cit.* p. 58.

that the I.E.P. was a church without a hierarchy ⁶², blinded him to the fact that in effect he was himself its hierarchy, and he never seems to have understood that his departure in 1929 dealt a cruel blow to the I.E.P.⁶³ by creating a power vacuum at the top. The decision taken by his successors in 1931 only increased that power vacuum ⁶⁴, and a struggle for power ensued. The decision of the delegates at Palcamayo to put a missionary back on the Synod Board was taken by several of the Peruvians as an accusation that they had failed, and they reacted against the missionaries in an attempt to defend themselves. Nationalism in this case had its immediate cause not in discrimination, but in self-justification. Nevertheless Ritchie was right in the sense that if the missionaries had remained fully integrated in the church, it would have been more difficult for the Peruvians to pin the blame on the foreigners without at the same time incriminating themselves.

The fact that the organization of the church was claiming too much of the members' attention, strengthened the reaction among Ritchie's successors against organization and institutionalism. This reaction was healthy in so far as it resulted in a renewed effort to instruct the church members in doctrine, but unhealthy in that organizational matters were often no longer taken sufficiently seriously, and that the influence of the institutional form upon the spirit was seriously underestimated. The most important example of this unhealthy tendency was the decision taken at the Synod of Palcamayo in 1932, and put into effect the following year, to set up a second Synod in the Huánuco region ⁶⁵. There was at the time not the least desire or intention to create a division ⁶⁶, and Clark emphasized at the Synod meeting in Palcamayo that this step was merely a geographical one ⁶⁷, and yet, as Ritchie warned, the effect was to divide the church, in spite of the fact that "there was no issue in discussion affecting doctrine, discipline or government" ⁶⁸. At the same time it must be added that Ritchie also made a mistake in 1919 by inviting representatives of individual churches to a Synod instead of a Presbytery. The result is that individual congregations are still represented at both Presbyteries and Synods. At the time in question representatives from the various Presbyteries could have met in one combined Synod, but transport was still too expensive and difficult for individual churches in the Junin and Huánuco regions to send their delegates to one Synod.

⁶² Ritchie, *La Iglesia Evangélica Peruana*. Lima 1951. p. 8.

⁶³ Grubb, *The E.U.S.A. in Peru*.

⁶⁴ Compare Eugene Nida and William Wonderly's article "Selection, Preparation and Function of leaders in Indian fields. *Practical Anthropology*", Jan./Feb. 1963. p. 10.

⁶⁵ *Renacimiento*, Lima setiembre 1932.

⁶⁶ Savage's letter to the writer, dated Dec. 5, 1961.

⁶⁷ *Renacimiento*, setiembre 1932.

⁶⁸ Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles in Theory and Practice*. p. 55.

c. The failure of this controversy to clarify the situation

Ritchie was a formidable controversialist and he was more often in the right than those who disagreed with him. The I.E.P. as a whole again placed their confidence in him, so that he regained most of his former power and influence. Yet he failed to convince the majority of the other missionaries who were co-operating with the I.E.P. The reason for this lay not so much in the different beliefs and backgrounds of the missionaries concerned, as in the development of the work itself. In regions such as Huánuco and Ayaviri, it was possible to profit from the early mistakes made in the department of Junin and to avoid most of them. In Huánuco and Ayaviri the literature programmes were hardly affected by the troubles of "El Inca", the regions were never deprived of the more experienced preachers, and there were no divisions. Yet the general spiritual development in these regions was in the long run not so very different. The C.M.A. and E.U.S.A. missionaries, particularly those of the Huánuco and Ayaviri regions, came to feel, therefore, that Ritchie did not have the answer to their basic problem. They criticized the I.E.P. for being too organized and not sufficiently spiritual, and yet they were unable to answer Ritchie's arguments.

The controversy between Ritchie and his missionary colleagues was directly related to the Peruvian situation and yet, because too little attention was given to three vital issues, it failed to be helpful. First, hardly anything was said about a settled ministry till after the Second World War. Second, no adequate consideration was given to the social application of the Gospel and third it was believed that the nationals would be able to adapt the church to their circumstances without the missionary having to intervene. As far as the question of a settled ministry is concerned, Ritchie's early experience in Peru had so indelibly impressed on his mind the dangers of a professional ministry that, although he realized that such a ministry would in the end be necessary, he hoped that it would not be in his time⁶⁹. Stuart McNairn, the secretary of the E.U.S.A. for 41 years, harboured similar fears of a professional ministry and it was not until after his retiral at the beginning of 1953 that the E.U.S.A. missionaries in Peru started to take a more positive attitude towards the work of settled pastors. Furthermore, for many years both the E.U.S.A. and the C.M.A. missionaries, under the influence of Roland Allen's ideas, expected that a settled ministry would arise spontaneously as a result of the operation of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of the national converts⁷⁰. It was not until the end of the Second World War that the C.M.A. missionaries realized that this was not happening and started pressing for the installation of pastors.

⁶⁹ Money's information.

⁷⁰ Roland Allen, *Missionary Methods. St. Paul's or Ours?* Lon. 1960⁵. p. 81; McNairn's letter to all E.U.S.A. missionaries, dated Nov. 1933.

Ritchie's attitude towards the social application of the Gospel betrayed a confusion of thought which was not characteristic of the man. Up to 1929 Ritchie opposed the repeated requests for help to establish village schools on the grounds that it was preferable that the children of Evangelicals suffer persecution and disabilities in the public schools, if eventually their equal right to the nation's educational facilities could be established⁷¹. Although Ritchie admitted that the public schools at that time were often unsatisfactory from an educational point of view, he was so afraid of isolating the new believers from their environment by placing them in institutions directed by foreigners that he overlooked the church's responsibility in this matter and insisted that "the Christian church should be foreign only to the extent of its heavenly character"⁷². That he could consider school and other social work as not belonging to the "heavenly character" of the church, shows that as late as 1930 he was still making a wrong distinction between the spiritual and the material. His mission hall background in Glasgow will have been responsible for this.

In the Synod held in La Oroya in 1938 Ritchie preached a sermon in which he expressed his belief that the church was more than the sum of the regenerate believers. It was constituted by the divine commission to reveal its Lord not merely in individual lives but in human society as a whole⁷³. This advance in thinking led Ritchie to appreciate the I.E.P.'s failure as far as the social application of the Gospel was concerned. In 1946 he wrote: "where these village churches would seem to fail most completely in the fulfilment of their calling is in service for the community at large"⁷⁴. By this time Ritchie understood clearly that "infant churches need to be helped in many ways if they are to fulfil their mission"⁷⁵, and yet the extraordinary thing is that Ritchie never reproached his colleagues for their lack of initiative in this matter. Perhaps he was afraid that the other missionaries might point to his own shortcomings in this respect. As indicated in the previous chapter some of the E.U.S.A. missionaries in southern Peru did undertake social work, but in central Peru, both the E.U.S.A. and the C.M.A. missionaries felt that this was the responsibility of the nationals. In 1953 the Mandamientos church in Lima opened a small clinic and after the move to the new building in 1958 a day school was added, but up to the present no other I.E.P. church has followed this example.

The third omission was that neither Ritchie nor his colleagues

⁷¹ Ritchie, *The Indigenous Church in Peru in its Relation to Social Problems. World Dominion*, Lon. Oct. 1930. p. 367; McNairn's letter to all E.U.S.A. missionaries, dated Nov. 1933.

⁷² Ritchie, *The Indigenous Church in Peru in its Relation to Social Problems. World Dominion*, Oct. 1930. p. 364.

⁷³ Ritchie, Printed Sermon *La Iglesia de Cristo, y el Cuerpo de Cristo* given at the Sínodo central La Oroya, 13 de julio 1938. In Money's possession in Lima.

⁷⁴ Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles in Theory and Practice*. p. 64.

⁷⁵ Idem. p. 54.

adequately helped the nationals in their task of adapting the church's structure to their local situation. It was assumed that the church would adopt the same pattern as the Indian communities and in the rural areas this did in fact take place. Although the I.E.P.'s constitution prevented the same man from being president every year, one man soon emerged in these village churches as the real leader, and the tradition of solidarity in these communities prevented rivalry from arising. These were the I.E.P. churches which functioned the best, although they also resembled the Indian communities in their isolation from the world around them and for this reason failed in their task of serving the community at large. In the mining centres and larger towns the position was different. The Indians who migrated to these places longed to be part of a group again, but had also lost much of the feeling of solidarity which characterized the communities from which they had come. The result was that the churches which were formed in the larger centres of population resembled the trade unions which were being established in these places at more or less the same time⁷⁶. The aim of these trade unions was to gain as many benefits as possible for the members and their functioning was marked by considerable internal politics. The same must unfortunately be said of much of the I.E.P. work in the towns, so that the village groups have not been able to rely on help from solid central churches.

The difference between city and rural churches also has its importance for the ministry. The leaders of the Indian communities are raised in a tradition of service to that community and many of the leaders of the rural churches, whatever may have been their educational deficiencies, have served the church faithfully. However, the trade unions do not possess such a tradition of service and there is no place in their organizational structure for a figure such as a pastor. For this reason these central churches have been slow to appreciate their need of pastors⁷⁷, even though the rapidly changing populations and the rising standards of education in the bigger centres has made it particularly urgent to have settled pastors at those points. For a long time the weak financial position of these congregations was advanced as a reason for not installing pastors, but finally in 1951 Federico Muñoz, a son of the pioneer Alfonso, after having been trained at the Peruvian Bible institute was ordained as pastor of the main I.E.P. church in Lima.

Muñoz devoted himself with enthusiasm to his task and soon the badly ventilated hall on the street called Mandamientos was full to overflowing. The missionaries co-operating with the I.E.P. took note of this success so that by 1954 the opposition to an ordained ministry in E.U.S.A. circles was disappearing. Federico's faithful ministry also gave the stimulus for the erection of a much larger church building on

⁷⁶ The writer is grateful to Herbert Money for this comparison.

⁷⁷ Report of E.U.S.A. Inter Field Secretary to Peru Field. Aug. 1961. p. 2.

Avenida Brazil ⁷⁸. However, Peruvian society has a safeguard against dictators in that somebody who rises rapidly is immediately pulled down again by those round about him. Federico showed no signs of becoming a dictator, but the safety mechanism worked nevertheless. Unfortunately the I.E.P. constitution lends itself to misuse in this respect because, although it states that a pastor will normally preside at a consistory meeting, it does allow the consistory to meet without him ⁷⁹. Use was made of this escape clause to take decisions behind Federico's back, and it was even decided that "the pastor would only take the services when the consistory asked him to do so" ⁸⁰. Finally Federico felt unable to continue and in January 1964 he presented his resignation ⁸¹. In Huancayo a somewhat similar situation arose when a pastor was appointed there at the end of 1956 and he resigned within three months ⁸².

In a less violent form this problem has arisen in many of the larger I.E.P. churches, so that to-day few of them have properly established pastors. In his report on Peru, Ban Forsyth the E.U.S.A. inter-Field secretary at that time described the relationship between the pastor and the consistory as "problem number one in the Peruvian Evangelical Church". The elders were "jealous of their position and authority" and Forsyth noted that although Roland Allen's rules for the formation of a church had been scrupulously observed in the case of the I.E.P. yet a stalemate had been reached ⁸³. The reason for this was that in the larger towns at least, the I.E.P. had adapted itself to the kind of organization in which the idea of ministry was not uppermost. In accordance with Allen's ideas the converts had been allowed to take the initiative in adapting the church's structure to their own circumstances and yet, in contrast to Allen's contention that the early church "continued to expand by its own inherent grace" ⁸⁴, stagnation followed. This would indicate that Allen was mistaken in his ideas about "inherent grace" and that although it is very important to place the initiative in the hands of the nationals, some form of help and continuity must still be provided.

Roland Allen developed his ideas within the framework of a High Church Anglican mission. His great merit is that within a church which strongly emphasized apostolic succession and tended to stifle the initiative of the laymen, he pleaded that the Holy Spirit be allowed freedom to express Himself through the lives of the young converts. Allen's great mistake was that he believed that his methods were

⁷⁸ *South America*, Oct./Dec. 1958. p. 124.

⁷⁹ Ante proyecto de la reforma de la constitución de la I.E.P. (This particular clause dates from the 1922 constitution and was not changed in 1946.)

⁸⁰ Stuart Harrison's letter to the writer, dated Feb. 4, 1964.

⁸¹ Money's information.

⁸² *South America*, Jan./Mar. 1958. p. 69.

⁸³ W. B. Forsyth, Peru Tour. May/June 1962. Report no. 8. p. 2.
Document in the writer's possession.

⁸⁴ Allen, *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church*. Lon. 1960⁴. p. 6.

equally applicable to other churches with a different doctrinal background⁸⁵. The missionaries who built up the I.E.P. did not believe in an apostolic succession, so that when they left the initiative in the hands of the young converts the only connecting link left between them and the nationals was the message preached. The experience in Peru shows that this is not enough; there must also be a continuity in the ministry and in the structure of the church. The measure of success that the I.E.P. has achieved shows how important it is to put the initiative into the hands of the nationals from the moment of their conversion. The degree of the I.E.P.'s failure shows the urgency of maintaining continuity, not just in the preaching, but in the church's whole life.

d. The problem of inter-mission co-operation

In order that the I.E.P. should be helped without missionaries having to intervene directly in the government of the church, the Synod held in Morococha in 1933 decided to form a Board of missionaries which should serve the I.E.P. in an advisory capacity⁸⁶. Ritchie was opposed to this Board, because he regarded it as an instrument by which the E.U.S.A. and C.M.A. missionaries still hoped to control the I.E.P. although they had ceased to be members of this church. The Board is only mentioned as having met once in the immediately succeeding years⁸⁷ and seems at first to have had no real importance. In 1936 Alfonso Hitchcock of the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions arrived in Peru. He agreed to work in co-operation with the I.E.P., and on this basis the regions of Ayacucho and Huancavelica, where the E.U.S.A. and the I.E.P. had started to work, were assigned to the independent Presbyterians in 1937⁸⁸. When Savage moved to Lima in that year he found that the I.E.P. was in danger of being torn into three or even four parts⁸⁹. Ritchie had his strong opinions, the contact with the C.M.A. in the Huánuco region was becoming more and more tenuous, the E.U.S.A. missionaries were finding it hard to agree among themselves and the independent Presbyterians under Hitchcock, who had started co-operating with the I.E.P. under the impression that it was a purely Presbyterian church⁹⁰, were raising objections. Under these circumstances it was decided to reactivate the Board of missionaries, this time not so much with a view to giving

⁸⁵ Allen, *Missionary Methods*. p. 7.

⁸⁶ *Actas del Sínodo de Morococha*. 24-25 y 30-31 de julio, 1933; *South America*, Jan./Feb. 1934. p. 8.

⁸⁷ *Adelante*, junio 1934.

⁸⁸ *Renacimiento*, noviembre 1936;

Grubb, 1938 *Supplement* to the West Coast Republics of South America; Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles*. p. 51.

⁸⁹ Savage's recollection.

⁹⁰ Gordon Holdcroft's letter, dated Oct. 2, 1944, written on behalf of the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions to the I.E.P.

direct advice to the I.E.P., as in an attempt to co-ordinate the opinions and activities of the missionary bodies co-operating with that church. Unfortunately the differences were too great, and as the Board of missionaries had only an advisory capacity, no progress could be made.

The outbreak of the Second World War and the possibility that many missionaries might have to be withdrawn, convinced most people that more co-ordination among the Protestant groups in Peru was essential. Late in 1940 the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the Church of the Nazarene, the E.U.S.A., the Iglesia Evangélica Peruana, the Methodist Church, the Free Church of Scotland, the Peruvian Inland Mission, the Irish Baptist Church, the Assemblies of God, the American Bible Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society joined in the formation of the Concilio Nacional Evangélico (National Evangelical Council), with Herbert Money as its secretary ⁹¹. The Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions, however, was connected with the Carl McIntire movement in the United States, and Hitchcock feared that his support would be jeopardized if it became known that he had joined a council in which Modernists, such as the Methodists, were also represented. In his written protest Hitchcock stated that in Japan and Korea national church councils had led native churches to "apostasy and idolatry", and that such councils could always fall into the hands of secular governments and later be used against the Evangelicals ⁹². In reply it was pointed out that the council would not be able to legislate for its members, but even before the decision to set up the council had been formalized, Hitchcock had withdrawn from co-operation with the I.E.P.⁹³.

After this first breach a protest was raised by the independent Presbyterians against the demand made by the I.E.P. that properties in the Ayacucho and Huancavelica regions be registered in the latter's name ⁹⁴, and finally the connection between the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions and the I.E.P. was formally severed in 1944 on the grounds that the Presbyterians were obliged by the agreement with the I.E.P. to forego giving teaching on infant baptism ⁹⁵. It does seem that differences between the I.E.P. and a Presbyterian church had not been explained properly at the beginning, but if the independent Presbyterians found themselves unable to live up to their original agreement, they should have withdrawn from the territory that had been assigned to them on the basis of that agreement. The sad thing is that this division was based on fears which have not materialized. The Concilio Nacional Evangélico has not fallen into other hands, nor has it become modernistic. While modernism in the United States

⁹¹ *I.R.M.*, April 1941.

⁹² Hitchcock's letter to Savage, dated Dec. 18, 1941.

⁹³ *Actas del sínodo primero*, Lima, 27-31 de agosto 1940.

⁹⁴ *Adelante*, Aug. 1941.

⁹⁵ Holdcroft's letter to the I.E.P., dated Oct. 2, 1944, written on behalf of the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions.

did for a time seriously affect the general policy of Methodist missions and also influenced many of the missionaries working in Peru, it was never really true to say that the Methodist church in Peru was modernistic. The ones who have changed their position are the independent Presbyterians. They have broken their connection with Carl McIntire and the International Council of Christian Churches and are now co-operating with the Peruvian Bible Institute which, although interdenominational in character, has most of its links with the I.E.P.⁹⁶.

This division which was related almost entirely to circumstances reigning in the United States, had a most unfortunate effect on the development in Peru⁹⁷. The work in the departments of Ayacucho and Huancavelica made comparatively little progress. It is certainly a hard and difficult field, but the natural difficulties have only been increased by the isolation in which the independent Presbyterians have found themselves since 1940. Happily, as indicated in the paragraph above, this isolation is now lessening. Worse is the damage that has been done to relations between missionaries. It has become the fashion among British missions working in Peru to put the blame for the present splintered condition of Protestantism in that country on the missionaries from the United States. This is not fair, because Bright and Ritchie, both Britishers, carry the major responsibility for the failure of the early attempts at co-operation. However, since 1940 many of the schisms in Peru have been provoked by missionaries from the United States⁹⁸, and it does seem that they are often less sensitive to the damage church division can cause than their colleagues from Europe. The fact that those who came to colonize the United States were in many cases already ecclesiastically divided by reason of race and language, may explain why church division is not felt to be such a reproach in the United States as it is in Europe.

The worst effect of this division was that many of the members of the I.E.P. regarded the refusal of the independent Presbyterians to give up the territory assigned to them, as proof that their original willingness to co-operate with the I.E.P. was merely a stratagem to get themselves established in a territory that would otherwise not have been open to them. This is untrue, because the independent Presbyterians could justifiably feel that the I.E.P. had created a new situation by making demands which were not explicitly mentioned in the original agreement. It must also be remembered that if they had wished to occupy that territory without any prior arrangement, the I.E.P. could not have

⁹⁶ Money's information.

⁹⁷ Savage, at the E.U.S.A. field executive meeting held in Lima in July 1957 described this division as the beginning of the rot. This statement would not be true in general terms, but the conversation at the time centred on the relation of the I.E.P. member to the missionary, and from this point of view Savage's remark was, unfortunately, accurate.

⁹⁸ Savage, Confusionism. *South America*, April/June 1958.

prevented this. However, because of this and later incidents it has become a cliché with many leaders of the I.E.P. that foreigners are responsible for all the divisions in Peru. This is also untrue, because in the years 1937 to 1939 the flourishing witness at Morococha was for many years ruined by a division⁹⁹, in which foreigners were not involved till after the initial split had occurred. A few years later there was a purely Peruvian division in the small I.E.P. church in Concepción, as a result of which this group was disbanded completely. Further in 1941 a quarrel started between Peruvians in the church at Huancayo¹⁰⁰. This dissension in the end caused an open split at the end of 1956¹⁰¹. The fact remains, however, that the divisions caused by the foreigners made a deeper impression precisely because the Peruvians looked to the missionary for an example.

In the meantime Ritchie was working to avoid the beginnings of a division between the first and the second Synods of the I.E.P. By means of the delegation from Lima, where his influence was greatest, Ritchie sent a proposal to the first Synod that the I.E.P. organize a General Assembly. The possibility of such an assembly had already been envisaged in the constitution which was approved in 1922 at Muquiyauyo, but the details were left open¹⁰². In 1938 and again in 1940 the first Synod agreed to this proposal and recommended that the General Assembly be established¹⁰³. The second Synod, in which the influence of the C.M.A. missionaries was uppermost, replied that it did not feel that the time was opportune for such a development¹⁰⁴. The majority of the C.M.A. missionaries did not want a General Assembly, firstly because they felt that this would make the organizational structure of the I.E.P. top heavy and secondly because they feared that by means of a General Assembly Ritchie might be able to gain too much influence over their work. This opposition was, however, by no means confined to the missionaries in the Huánuco region. The centralization of the government of the country in Lima has made the provinces suspicious of all that Lima does, and this spirit was amply reflected among the Peruvian church members in the Huánuco region as elsewhere.

Some remedy had to be found and so Savage wrote to Clayton Steiner of the C.M.A. complaining about the lack of contact¹⁰⁵. Steiner in his reply pointed out that Peruvians from the provinces were not usually assiduous letter writers, and ended with the question: "Are we to appoint a foreigner as secretary? Surely we must have an organization which the nationals can handle"¹⁰⁶. Then at the meeting of the first

⁹⁹ Barreto, Op. Cit. pp. 36-39.

¹⁰⁰ *South America*, July/Sept. 1941. p. 58.

¹⁰¹ Idem, Jan./Mar. 1958. p. 69.

¹⁰² Ante Proyecto de la reforma de la constitución de la I.E.P.

¹⁰³ *Epístolas*, no. 1, s.a. written and published by Ritchie about 1942.

¹⁰⁴ Letter from the first Synod to the second, signed by Andrés Villanueva and dated Dec. 28, 1940.

¹⁰⁵ Savage's letter to Clayton D. Steiner, dated Aug. 11, 1941.

¹⁰⁶ Steiner's letter to Savage, dated Aug. 14, 1941.

Synod in 1942 it was proposed and agreed to form a supreme executive body of the I.E.P., consisting of some of the members of the boards of the first and second Synods. The separate boards would look after regional affairs, while the "Board of boards" would attend to matters concerning the whole of the I.E.P. The effect of such an arrangement would be to reduce Lima's influence, and naturally enough it was the delegation from Lima which opposed the idea in the Synod meeting ¹⁰⁷. Ritchie, who because of his experience in Scotland took an unfavourable view of all church boards ¹⁰⁸ started publishing a series of "Epistles" in which among other things he resolutely opposed the new scheme, on the grounds that it was anti-constitutional and could lead to a dictatorial hierarchy. As a concession to those who felt that the establishment of a General Assembly would make the organization of the I.E.P. top heavy, Ritchie expressed the wish that once the Assembly had come into existence the synods would disappear ¹⁰⁹.

Those who opposed Ritchie felt that he was preventing the I.E.P. from developing naturally and was promoting the very division he was trying to avoid ¹¹⁰. However, the constitution was clearly on Ritchie's side and he won. The Board of missionaries prepared a new draft constitution for the first meeting of the General Assembly which was held in Huancayo in 1946 ¹¹¹, but especially among the C.M.A. missionaries there was no enthusiasm for or interest in this development. The delegates from the provincial Presbyteries were no match for their quicker witted brethren from the Lima Presbytery, and the C.M.A. missionaries insisted on maintaining the Synod in Huánuco. The result was that the Assembly far from overcoming the danger of regionalism in some ways strengthened it. Probably more because of conservatism than because of regionalism, the first Synod was also continued, and the result was that the organization of the church did become top heavy. The "Board of boards" scheme would have guaranteed that a region like Huánuco received a certain number of seats in the church's highest executive body and at the same time would have kept the organization to a minimum.

The Peruvian Bible Institute in Lima also gave rise to problems. When it started in 1933 the C.M.A. had provided Ray Clark as director, as well as the building and most of the money. In 1941 the C.M.A. viewpoint was described as follows: "While the Institute is truly a Bible school of the C.M.A., it is the purpose of the Alliance that this institute should be in a special way our contribution to inter-mission co-operation among those of fundamental faith. Missionaries of other societies teach in the school and the student body, though small, is drawn from several portions of the church of Christ in Peru. This is in no sense contrary to,

¹⁰⁷ *Actas del sínodo primero*. Palcamayo, 20-22 de agosto 1942.

¹⁰⁸ Money's recollection.

¹⁰⁹ *Epístolas* no. 1, s.a. written by Ritchie.

¹¹⁰ *Epístolas* no. 7, s.a. written by Ritchie.

¹¹¹ *South America*, Jan./March 1947. p. 74.

but rather a carrying out of the purpose for which the Alliance was brought into being – so as to promote a strong spiritual and harmonious church, loyal to the Lord and His truth, but owing allegiance to no particular denomination or group in the homeland from which the missionaries came”¹¹². This same report then mentioned that problems had arisen in the “harmonious working together with missionaries of other societies whose methods and doctrinal emphasis may be somewhat different from ours”. Privately C.M.A. missionaries complained that one of the teachers at the Bible Institute smoked¹¹³, that another did not believe in the second coming of our Lord¹¹⁴ and that a third was modernistic in his attitude towards the Bible¹¹⁵. They felt that not even the E.U.S.A. missionaries shared their views on sanctification.

After reaching a maximum of thirteen in 1939¹¹⁶, the number of native workers in the C.M.A. areas dropped to five in 1941¹¹⁷, and after that rose only very slowly. The younger missionaries attributed this deficiency to the fact that the Peruvian Bible Institute had never been committed to the full Alliance message, and so in 1946 when the old premises had to be vacated, the Board of the C.M.A. in New York decided to discontinue its support of the institute in Lima, and to concentrate on short term institutes in the Huánuco area¹¹⁸. The Peruvian Bible Institute was then reorganized as a separate entity and bought property some way out of Lima¹¹⁹. It is still officially supported by the E.U.S.A. and the F.C.S. mission and has continued to supply the I.E.P. and other denominations with trained workers. The C.M.A. did not withdraw entirely from the Peruvian Bible Institute in 1946 because it continued to loan Ray and Marion Clark as directors¹²⁰, and a little later Paul and Frances Roffe were also lent as teachers.

It became increasingly clear, however, that the C.M.A. wished to establish its own institute. In 1949 a three months Bible Institute was started at Huánuco¹²¹, and in the following year land was bought for a permanent building. Nevertheless, an agreement was reached between the two institutes by which students who graduated from Huánuco would be given credit for the courses they had already followed, if they wished to continue their studies in Lima¹²². At about the same time the

¹¹² *Annual report of the C.M.A.* 1941.

¹¹³ Evangelicals among the Scottish Presbyterian churches traditionally adopt a different attitude to smoking than the large majority of Evangelical in Anglo-Saxon countries.

¹¹⁴ The person involved believed in the second coming but not in a pre-millennial second coming as held by a large majority of Evangelicals in North America.

¹¹⁵ Ritchie was certainly not a modernist. He upheld the inspiration and authority of Scripture, but as a result of his wide reading, he had come to abandon some of the theories of verbal inspiration current among Evangelicals.

¹¹⁶ *Annual report of the C.M.A.* 1939.

¹¹⁷ *Idem*, 1941.

¹¹⁸ *Report to the 1946 G.A.F.C.S.*

¹¹⁹ *Idem*. 1947.

¹²⁰ *Annual report of the C.M.A.* 1946.

¹²¹ *Idem*. 1949.

¹²² Money's letter to the writer, dated June 25, 1962.

E.U.S.A. in southern Peru decided to work more closely with the I.E.P., and at the last meeting of the Board of missionaries, which was held in Lima on November 18, 1953, a request was made that the organization of the I.E.P. be simplified so as to make it better suited to the needs of regions where communications were difficult. "This request was considered very sympathetically" and the E.U.S.A. was asked to make some proposals. At the same meeting the representative of the C.M.A. informed the E.U.S.A. missionary present that his mission would shortly be putting a proposal to the E.U.S.A. about ordination ¹²³. The proposal was never received and in an unbelievably short time the prospects for unification and co-operation which at the end of 1953 seemed brighter than they had appeared for a long time, were darkened once and for all.

e. The schism

Originally the Alliance was no more than a missionary society built around the message of its founder, A. B. Simpson, who preached Christ as Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer and Coming King. In the course of time two divergent streams arose in the movement. One stream emphasized the missionary obligation and saw the Alliance basically as an association of missionary-minded people, while the other stream stressed the doctrinal points of Simpson's message and regarded the C.M.A. in the first place as a church ¹²⁴. Ray Clark, the C.M.A. pioneer in Peru, came from a Plymouth Brethren background ¹²⁵ and belonged decidedly to the first of the above-mentioned streams. Under his influence, and with full support of the Board in New York, the C.M.A. work in Peru was associated with that of the I.E.P., but many of the C.M.A. missionaries who later came to Peru felt that this association was hindering them from expressing the fourfold Alliance message. Both the national leaders of the I.E.P. and the other co-operating missionaries assured the C.M.A. missionaries that they were entirely free to preach in accordance with their convictions but this still did not alleviate their sense of frustration. In the years 1943 to 1948 the membership of the I.E.P. churches in the C.M.A. regions had dropped by nearly 30 %, there was still no ordained ministry and the local churches were not sufficiently active in evangelism.

In the first place many of the C.M.A. missionaries felt that the organization of the I.E.P. was top heavy and was absorbing time and energy that the congregations should be giving to evangelism. While there was truth in this complaint, it must be pointed out that in 1949 the membership of the I.E.P. churches in the C.M.A. regions started to rise steeply again. Evangelism was obviously taking place and although

¹²³ The writer's letter to Dorothy Michell, dated Nov. 24, 1953.

¹²⁴ F. E. Mayer, *The Religious Bodies of America*. Saint Louis, Missouri, 1958 ³, p. 333.

¹²⁵ Money's information.

the organization was overloaded at the higher levels, the Presbyteries at least were performing a very useful function. Secondly, the unsatisfactory development of the ministry was blamed on the Peruvian Bible Institute. By 1953 there were only 11 native workers to attend to the rapidly growing work in the C.M.A. regions, yet paradoxically in 1949 the Peruvian Bible Institute had its largest enrolment in history and in addition 50 students had attended the short-term institute at Huánuco ¹²⁶. In reality the Bible institutes were not so much to blame for the lack of ministers, as the churches, which did not sense their need of pastors ¹²⁷ and were often unwilling to provide either the salary or the authority required. Thirdly, many of the C.M.A. missionaries felt that the E.U.S.A. and especially McNairn and Ritchie had blocked the development of an ordained ministry ¹²⁸. In this the Alliance missionaries were largely right, but they overlooked the fact that by 1954 their E.U.S.A. colleagues were rapidly coming round to their point of view on this matter.

Towards the end of 1953 the C.M.A. Executive Committee in Peru made arrangements for a series of evangelistic campaigns. At the last moment the man originally invited became ill and so S. G. Barnes, the superintendent of the C.M.A. work in the Argentine and Eduardo Palací, a retired Salvation Army officer, came instead. Palací was a Peruvian who was converted by the testimony which Backhouse, one of the R.B.M.U. pioneers, had given on his deathbed in 1898 ¹²⁹. Later Palací quarrelled with Ritchie and went to the Argentine, but it seems that he never lost his antipathy for everything that was associated with Ritchie ¹³⁰. During the various campaigns which were held in Peru, Palací missed no opportunity of urging a separation from the I.E.P. ¹³¹ and Barnes, although more cautious in his statements, showed that he too was not in favour of the association with the I.E.P. ¹³². Reports of these proceedings were passed at once to the Peruvian leaders of the I.E.P. in Lima, who had never forgotten what had happened with the independent Presbyterians in the Ayacucho region. The suspicions of the I.E.P. leaders were immediately aroused and already in December 1953 Juan de Dios Guerrero informed a E.U.S.A. missionary that the C.M.A. was believed to be planning a separation.

The Clarks and the Roffes agreed with their younger colleagues that steps should be taken to establish an ordained ministry, but disagreed strongly that radical changes were needed either in the organization of the I.E.P. or in the structure of the Peruvian Bible Institute. Some of the C.M.A. missionaries were uncertain about the course they should

¹²⁶ *Annual reports of the C.M.A. for the years 1953 and 1949.*

¹²⁷ *South America*, Jan./Mar. 1962. p. 72.

¹²⁸ Federico Muñoz's information.

¹²⁹ Money's information.

¹³⁰ *Idem.*

¹³¹ B. A. Lofsted's letter to the writer, dated May 31, 1966.

¹³² Juan de Dios Guerrero's information.

follow, but others, especially those who had more recently arrived on the field, were strengthened in their determination to press for radical changes if not a separation from the I.E.P. by the visit of Barnes and Palací. At the beginning of 1954 a few C.M.A. missionaries made "overtures" to the national leaders of the I.E.P. in order to discover what the church's attitude would be towards constitutional changes. The national leaders rightly replied that they could not speak without authorization from the General Assembly ¹³³, but the impression they received from these "overtures" must have been that a rupture was imminent, because a second and more urgent warning was given to the E.U.S.A. missionary stationed in the central highlands. When at the beginning of April, senior E.U.S.A. missionaries in southern Peru pressed for an immediate meeting of the two missions, they were told that they could not be received until after the C.M.A. Field Conference to be held in Lima towards the end of June ¹³⁴.

At the end of March the Foreign Department of the C.M.A. in New York prepared directives in an attempt to overcome the threat of division within the staff in Peru and to create an atmosphere in which the younger missionaries could work more happily ¹³⁵. Unfortunately this directive which was presented to the Field Conference listed more than ten points and tried to embrace all the complaints being made against the I.E.P. instead of probing to find out where the real problem lay ¹³⁶. The result was that those who opposed the connection with the I.E.P. felt encouraged to make more demands. Furthermore several of the C.M.A. missionaries seem to have had only preconceived notions of what the reactions of the I.E.P. and the E.U.S.A. would be. Sincere attempts were made to break the impasse, but after several days of conference the majority of the C.M.A. missionaries felt that it was impossible to harmonize the conditions laid down by the directive from New York, with what it was believed might be acceptable to the I.E.P. and to the E.U.S.A. and so it was decided to break off co-operation. The churches in the areas that had been entrusted to the Alliance were to be formed into a new denomination. The next day this resolution was read to Leslie Hoggarth and Kenneth Case, who had come to Lima as representatives of the E.U.S.A. "Recovering from the stunning effect" of the C.M.A. decision, Hoggarth and Case gave a "polite, but pointed

¹³³ Money's letter to the writer, dated June 25, 1962 quoting some of the findings of the commission of the Concilio Nacional Evangélico appointed specially to investigate this division.

¹³⁴ The writer's letter to Savage in London, dated April 24, 1954.

This letter was based on reports from Kenneth Case and Paul Roffe.

¹³⁵ *Annual report of the C.M.A. for 1954*;

Leslie Hoggarth and Kenneth Case, Report of the meetings held between the C.M.A. missionaries and the two representatives of the E.U.S.A. in Lima at the end of June 1954. p. 2. A copy of this report which was sent to Savage, the General Secretary of the E.U.S.A. in London, is in the writer's possession.

¹³⁶ This directive has never been published but it was read to Hoggarth and Case at one of the meetings in Lima, and their report gives some indication of its contents. p. 2.

exposition of the strangeness of their methods”¹³⁷. In a long discussion which followed, the C.M.A. missionaries discovered, somewhat to their surprise, that the E.U.S.A. shared many of their wishes to reform the I.E.P. and stood closer to them both as regards doctrine and policy than they had imagined. In fact as far as the doctrine of sanctification was concerned, the E.U.S.A. representatives became convinced that the difference was at the most one of terminology.

A new attempt was made to solve the crisis and the Alliance drew up a programme of 14 points into which they incorporated the salient features of the directive from New York. A simpler constitution was to be drawn up for the I.E.P. more in line with that of other C.M.A. churches in the rest of the world. The individual churches were to be represented directly or by proxy in the General Assembly, and this meant that the Presbyteries and Synods would eventually cease to exist. A doctrinal statement was to be drawn up which would include the four cardinal points of the C.M.A. message, namely that Christ is our Saviour, our Sanctifier, our Healer and our coming King. The Peruvian Bible Institute would no longer be recognized and in future all ministers of the I.E.P. would have to graduate either from the Huánuco or the Sicuani Bible Institutes. Finally an ordination committee would be set up consisting of three nationals and two missionaries, and both national pastors and missionaries would be given more authority in the government of the church. A literal translation into Spanish was made of these fourteen points and this was handed to the four members of the board of the General Assembly of the I.E.P. who were present in Lima, with the warning that these points would have to be accepted or the C.M.A. would end its co-operation.

Directives about missionary policy ought not to be formulated in a country thousands of miles away from the place where work is being done, nor should a programme based on them be translated literally into another language. The impression given by these fourteen points was “positively arrogant”, and yet Hoggarth and Case “felt in the end that this was not intended”¹³⁸. The four men from the I.E.P. General Assembly asked for 15 minutes to consider the document given to them and then replied in writing that as the fourteen points affected the constitution of the I.E.P., only the Assembly itself could give any answer, adding that as far as they could see the C.M.A. wished to make the I.E.P. merely a branch of itself. They considered that this was in some ways an insult to a national church and felt that the C.M.A. intended to separate from the I.E.P. and as a means to this end was making impossible demands¹³⁹. The C.M.A. missionaries were apparently taken aback by the harshness of this reply, yet the reaction of the Peruvians was very understandable. As a result of the rumours

¹³⁷ Hoggarth and Case, Report to Savage on meetings in Lima. June 1954. p. 1.

¹³⁸ Idem. p. 2.

¹³⁹ Hoggarth and Case, Report to Savage on meetings in Lima. June 1954. p. 5.

which had been circulating since December of the previous year, they had been prepared for the possibility of a break, so that when they were suddenly asked to agree to these fourteen points, they could only view this procedure as evidence of the fact that the Alliance had already decided on a division.

Only at this stage did several of the C.M.A. missionaries seem to understand that their problem did not lie with the E.U.S.A., but with the Peruvians. They apologized to them for the way things had been handled, and they even dropped some of their denominational demands. It was then agreed that the C.M.A. should present its demands to the General Assembly, which was to meet in La Oroya on August 26 ¹⁴⁰, but confidence in each other's good intentions had already suffered irreparable damage. A minority on both sides began canvassing people to join their party in the coming division ¹⁴¹, and towards the end of July the national leaders for a time forbade all foreign missionaries to preach in I.E.P. churches while the C.M.A. severed all its connections with the Peruvian Bible Institute ¹⁴². At the Assembly in La Oroya it was pointed out to the C.M.A. that constitutional changes had to be put before the Presbyteries and local churches and that a final answer would not be forthcoming till the next Assembly. The C.M.A. was then asked to give an undertaking that it would make no further move before the next Assembly was held, and under heavy pressure the representative of the C.M.A. agreed to this ¹⁴³.

The position was, however, being made untenable by the attempts at canvassing being made from both sides and in November a decision was taken by the Executive Committee in Peru to end co-operation with the I.E.P., and a letter to that effect was received by the E.U.S.A. on November 25 ¹⁴⁴. This action by the Peru Executive Committee was confirmed with regret by the Foreign Department in New York in November and by the Board of Managers of the C.M.A. in December ¹⁴⁵. From the beginning the initiative for the division had not come from New York, but from the missionaries in Peru. The reaction of the I.E.P. to the formal breaking off of relations was to call an emergency session of the General Assembly in Huancayo at which it was decided to ask the C.M.A. to withdraw all its missionaries from Peru. This Assembly also decided to send I.E.P. preachers to the C.M.A. areas in an effort to retain as many churches as possible ¹⁴⁶. Meanwhile the main C.M.A. church in Lima decided to go with the I.E.P. as did the Huacho

¹⁴⁰ Hoggarth and Case, Report to Savage. p. 8.

¹⁴¹ The writer's letter to Savage, dated July 26, 1954 and to Miss Michell, dated July 29, 1954. These letters were based on information from Ray Clark and Felix Calle.

¹⁴² Field Letter No. 12, edited by Dorothy Michell and sent from Pisco on July 30, 1954.

¹⁴³ Hoggarth and Case's recollection. They were present at this Assembly.

¹⁴⁴ Minutes of Field Meetings (E.U.S.A.) Nov. 25, 1954 in the writer's possession.

¹⁴⁵ *Annual report of the C.M.A.*, 1954.

¹⁴⁶ E.U.S.A. Field letter No. 5, edited by David Milnes and dated Feb. 2, 1955. p. 1.

Presbytery to the north of the capital ¹⁴⁷, and a few churches in the department of Huánuco such as that at Tingo María. Altogether the C.M.A. lost at least 35 % of its membership in Peru, but the large majority of the churches in the Huánuco region stayed with the C.M.A.

Especially in the department of Huánuco, where the regional solidarity had been shattered, the results were deplorable. People who shortly before had been living in harmony crossed over the street rather than meet each other ¹⁴⁸. A group which had stayed with the C.M.A. brought an I.E.P. preacher before the judge and succeeded in having him imprisoned. An attempt to chisel the name of the I.E.P. from the facade of the church in Tingo María gave rise to a scuffle in which somebody broke an arm. Lawsuits were threatened about church properties and the air was thick with recriminations. The most lasting result was, however, that the feeling of nationalism among the Peruvian Protestants, which had slowly been increasing, suddenly became virulent. The E.U.S.A. field secretary had to report that "the prestige of missionaries as a whole has gone down badly" and that doubts even existed about whether the E.U.S.A. would continue to co-operate loyally ¹⁴⁹. Churches which were not in any way involved in the division suffered from some of the consequences, and the Concilio Nacional Evangélico appointed a commission to bring about some measure of reconciliation. The attitudes of the two sides were, however, so fixed that no progress could be made. The unanimous opinion of this committee was that the division had been caused by the failure of the C.M.A. missionaries to appreciate the fact that they were dealing with a national church which possessed considerable self-awareness ¹⁵⁰. This may well explain the attitude of some of the newer missionaries, but that men who had worked with the I.E.P. for ten or more years could have overlooked this fact, is something the writer finds impossible to believe.

f. The causes of the schism

Ritchie died in April 1952 in his 74th year ¹⁵¹, and did not, therefore, live to see the dismemberment of the church to which he had given the larger part of his life. Yet it must be said that he carried part of the responsibility for the disaster. In common with other protagonists of indigenous principles, Ritchie was much kinder and more understanding in his attitude towards the nationals than towards his missionary colleagues ¹⁵²; in fact up to the time of his death he expressed himself in a very critical way about the C.M.A. missionaries in Huánuco ¹⁵³. His

¹⁴⁷ Idem. p. 2.

¹⁴⁸ Calle's recollection.

¹⁴⁹ E.U.S.A. Field Letter No. 5, edited by Milnes and dated Feb. 2, 1955, p. 1.

¹⁵⁰ Money's letter to the writer, dated June 25, 1962.

¹⁵¹ *South America*, July/Sept. 1952. p. 102.

¹⁵² Money's information.

¹⁵³ In the writer's only conversation with Ritchie in Sept. 1951 the latter expressed himself with vehemence about the C.M.A. missionaries at Huánuco and their dislike of organization.

lack of respect produced a deep feeling of resentment in them, which in part was responsible for their irrational reactions towards the I.E.P. at the time of the crisis. Ritchie, who always insisted that the nationals be given a chance to learn from their own mistakes, discriminated against his colleagues by not allowing them the same chance. His campaign against what he considered to be the mistaken idea of a "Board of boards" was one example; his unwillingness to help them in matters that he considered unnecessary such as a simplification of the church organization or the establishment of an ordained ministry is another.

In the second place the division was due to a confusion of two ideas in the minds of the C.M.A. missionaries. On the one hand they were sincerely desirous of establishing an ordained ministry in the I.E.P. as speedily as possible¹⁵⁴, but on the other they also wished to make the I.E.P. conform more closely to the pattern of an Alliance church. Those missionaries who viewed the C.M.A. more as a missionary fellowship, laid the emphasis on the former idea, and those who thought of the Alliance as a church on the latter. A small minority of the younger missionaries were definitely sectarian in their outlook and were determined to make the I.E.P. conform to the Alliance pattern even if this would involve a division, but it is probable that a majority wanted to avoid a split. For this reason as soon as they discovered that the E.U.S.A.'s attitude was more flexible than they had expected, they abandoned their first decision and started looking again for a solution. If they had only given themselves time for proper consultations with the E.U.S.A. and the I.E.P., they would very probably have come to realize that they were confronted with a choice. If they were prepared to press exclusively for an ordained ministry, there would be no real difficulty to continued co-operation, but if they wished to set up an Alliance church, then they should retire to a different part of Peru, where no church was yet functioning.

Thirdly, the division was caused by the very methods that were employed. The increasing need for pastors in the central churches meant that time was on the side of those who only wished to promote an ordained ministry. The Clarks and Roffes must have realized this, if not consciously then instinctively, and this explains their unwillingness to undertake radical action. Their hesitancy to act only increased the sense of frustration felt by their colleagues and the writer is convinced that together with the resentment against Ritchie this sense of frustration was responsible for the tactless and sometimes even provocative way in which the C.M.A. missionaries behaved towards the I.E.P. and the E.U.S.A. The longstanding reserve of the Alliance missionaries towards the General Assembly explains why, until it was too late, they kept on approaching individuals instead of addressing themselves to that body.

¹⁵⁴ *Annual report of the C.M.A., 1954.*

Finally the rising tide of nationalism throughout the country convinced the small minority of the C.M.A. missionaries who wished to make the I.E.P. conform to the Alliance pattern regardless of the consequences, that they had to act immediately or not at all. The hurry that followed gave nobody the time needed to think through the issues involved, with the result that the fourteen points, beside touching on matters which were indeed related to the I.E.P., included things which were only of importance to the Alliance mission. It was precisely this extraneous material that made the national leaders feel that they were being imposed upon and provoked their nationalistic feelings.

However dissatisfied the C.M.A. missionaries may have been with the general situation of the church, the majority of them did not wish to precipitate matters. That a militant minority succeeded in doing so was due to a fourth factor of which hardly any of the missionaries were aware at the time. This was the determination of a small group of leaders in the I.E.P. that they, and not the missionaries, were going to fill the power vacuum left after Ritchie's death. By 1954 they already had decisive influence in the General Assembly and they immediately saw in the troubles with the Alliance a chance to eliminate the influence of all the missionaries working with the I.E.P.¹⁵⁵ If only the representatives of the I.E.P. could have reacted with the same patience and understanding that was shown by Hoggarth and Case, reasonable discussion might still have been possible, but when it became plain that a very influential group in the I.E.P. had no interest in reaching an agreement, the extremists among the C.M.A. missionaries who had from the first maintained that no compromise was possible, were given the chance to impose their views on the rest. Since then it has gradually become clearer that those who controlled the General Assembly in 1954 did not really represent the I.E.P. either, and so it came about that two minorities succeeded in provoking a division in a manner that the majority on both sides certainly did not want.

After the division the group which controlled the Assembly continued to do enormous harm. Churches that had been receiving help from the C.M.A., but had decided to stay with the I.E.P. suddenly found themselves without support. At the time of the division there was widespread sympathy for the I.E.P. and help for such cases was usually forthcoming. But when the group controlling the Assembly insisted on giving preferential treatment to congregations where the issue was still in doubt, and maintained a vendetta year after against the C.M.A., friends of the I.E.P., both among the foreigners and the Peruvians, lost the desire to continue their support. It became all too plain that a small group in the I.E.P. was prolonging the fight with the Alliance in order to strengthen their own position. As a result, too little attention was

¹⁵⁵ The leaders in Lima made a ruling that even E.U.S.A. missionaries were not to take part in the youth convention which was held on July 28, 1954. Later this ruling was relaxed for missionaries not belonging to the C.M.A.

given to the church's vital needs and some congregations that had originally decided to stay with the I.E.P. eventually went over to the Alliance. For a time the I.E.P.'s relations both with the E.U.S.A. and with the Peruvian Bible Institute became very strained ¹⁵⁶. This sad sequel to the division shows that, contrary to Ritchie's expectation, the introduction of democratic principles has by no means eliminated a struggle for power within the I.E.P. Whereas an authoritarian system of church government tends to limit the struggle for power to a small upper group, democracy in the I.E.P. has had the effect of extending the field in which a power struggle takes place to all levels of the church organization ¹⁵⁷.

g. The further development of the C.M.A. in Peru

The schism dealt the C.M.A. work in Peru a heavy blow, but gave it at the same time three important advantages. Firstly, it put an end to the inner uncertainty which had plagued many of the younger missionaries and gave them a powerful incentive to work as never before, so that they could show to themselves and others that they had been right. Secondly, for the time being at least, it solved the problem of authority. The churches with the strongest nationalistic feelings stayed with the I.E.P. and those that went with the C.M.A. accepted without further dispute the leadership of the missionaries. Thirdly, the North American constituency were prepared to give more money for a work that they could regard as specifically theirs. Apart from these factors which were directly related to the schism, there were advantages which would have benefited the C.M.A. work anyway. The division occurred at a time when there was considerable interest among the Peruvians for the message of Protestantism, and all the denominations were making good progress. Also the new C.M.A. missionaries who had arrived in Peru after the Second World War, had by this time learned the language and were ready to start work in earnest. Finally graduates from the Huánuco Bible Institute were also becoming available in increasing numbers.

The result of all these factors was to increase sharply the manpower available for evangelism. Whereas up to 1947 between eight and ten C.M.A. missionaries had been at work in Peru, the number rose to 17 in 1951 ¹⁵⁸, and by 1963 had reached a figure of 26 ¹⁵⁹. The extra money available after the division made it possible to send out not less than 55 native workers in the year 1957 ¹⁶⁰. The number of outstations increased from 46 in 1954, to 75 in both the years 1955 and 1956 ¹⁶¹. In the following years many of these outstations became independent

¹⁵⁶ Forsyth, Peru Tour. May/June 1962, Reflections.

¹⁵⁷ Paul Roffe's observation to the writer in Oct. 1964.

¹⁵⁸ *Annual report of the C.M.A.*, 1951.

¹⁵⁹ Idem. 1963

¹⁶⁰ Idem. 1957.

¹⁶¹ Idem. 1954-56.

groups and new outstations could be formed. Mission supporters in the United States are very generous, but even there funds are not limitless, and as the C.M.A. was paying 75 % of the national church budget¹⁶², a reduction in this subsidy became imperative. In 1960, after a year's delay, the programme of reductions began. Each year the subsidy was cut by 15 % till by August 1964 the churches were not receiving any direct aid except for work in new regions¹⁶³. As can be imagined, very great tensions arose; the 1961 report mentions that "feelings were running high because of our programme of reduced subsidy"¹⁶⁴ and the report for the year following states that "the preachers went through deep waters financially"¹⁶⁵.

Towards the end of 1964 the C.M.A. in Peru had one ordained Chilean who was in charge of the new church which had been started in Lima, one ordained Peruvian who was working as national co-ordinator, five settled pastors who were not ordained, and eleven unordained itinerant preachers¹⁶⁶. This means that in spite of the remarkable recovery and growth of the work after the division, very little progress has been made towards establishing an ordained national ministry. Once the artificial effect of mission subsidies had been removed, the proportion of native workers, both to the number of foreign missionaries and to the total number of churches, groups and outstations, was found to have changed very little since 1954, and indeed since 1947. This would seem to indicate that the C.M.A. has still not solved the problem of a native ministry. Furthermore, the membership graphs give the impression that in the end the division in 1954 made little difference to the growth of the C.M.A. work in Peru. It is a great pity that after Ritchie's departure in 1929 no semblance of reliable statistics have been kept for the I.E.P. and that a comparison with that body is, therefore, not possible. It is too early to make a definite pronouncement, but the writer is inclined to believe that the growth of the C.M.A. work in Peru since 1947 has been chiefly determined by the hunger of the Peruvian people for the Gospel and by the money and effort invested by the mission, and that the change of methods in 1954 has made comparatively little difference to the result.

¹⁶² Fred Kowalchuk's information. (Kowalchuk is at present Field Chairman).

¹⁶³ Idem.

¹⁶⁴ *Annual report of the C.M.A.*, 1961.

¹⁶⁵ Idem. 1962.

¹⁶⁶ Kowalchuk's information.

CHAPTER XV

THE WORK OF THE SEVENTH DAY ADVENTISTS IN CHILE AND PERU

a. The Adventists in Chile

In 1894 two colporteurs from California, T. H. Davis and F. W. Bishop, landed in Valparaiso¹. They were met by C. A. Nowlen who had been selling literature in the Argentine and Punta de Arenas in the extreme south of Chile². Working as self-supporting missionaries, these men started on a programme of widespread visitation in Chile. The writer notes that they gave special attention to those places where Protestant work had already been established. The first convert they made was at Huara³, a small place near Iquique where Willis Hoover had founded a Methodist church in 1893⁴. Their propaganda also made a considerable impression on the congregation which Juan Canut had just established in Mulchen near Temuco, but after a few months interest dwindled and the whole group was scattered⁵. The Adventist message did not strike any lasting root among the simpler people, but among the middle class they had more success⁶. Schubert, the son of a Baptist minister, was contacted by these early pioneers, and he became the first Adventist minister in Chile⁷. The brothers Victor and Eduardo Thomann, cabinet makers of Swiss nationality, living in Santiago, also accepted the Adventist doctrine and became colporteurs⁸. Especially Eduardo played a very important part in establishing an Adventist literature programme in Chile.

In 1895 elder G. H. Baber was sent to Valparaiso to establish evangelistic work⁹. Eduardo Thomann translated and distributed Baber's literature, and in 1900 helped in the printing and publication of a

¹ William A. Spicer, *Our Story of Missions*. Mountain View, California. 1921. p. 258.

² Wellesley Muir, *Conquering for Christ*. A report on missions in the South American division. Stencilled Paper dated May 28, 1962 at the Inca Union headquarters at Lima.

³ Idem.

⁴ Goodsil F. Arms, *The History of the William Taylor Self-supporting Missions in South America*. N.Y. 1921. pp. 141 ff.

⁵ Arms, *El Origen del Metodismo y su Implantación en la costa occidental de Sudamérica*. Stgo. 1923. p. 36.

⁶ Information given by Mario N. Soto at the Chile Conference headquarters in Stgo. *General Conference Report*, no. 8. June 1, 1954. p. 179.

⁷ A. V. Olson, Manuscript to be found in the library at the Adventist headquarters in Washington D.C.

⁸ Spicer, Op. Cit. p. 258.

Spanish paper called "*Las señales de los tiempos*" (The Signs of the Times)¹⁰. The other basis of the work in Chile was education. Already in 1902 a school was started where the children of the believers "might be prepared to act their part in the giving of the message to the world"¹¹. By 1920 this training school had 45 students¹², and the following year it was moved to a 160 acre site near Chillan¹³. It has developed into a complete educational establishment consisting of a primary section, a commercial school, a teacher-training college as well as a theological institute¹⁴. In addition most churches have primary schools attached to them¹⁵, and in contrast to the experience of almost every other denomination, the greater share of the new Adventist members in Chile have been won through the work of their schools¹⁶.

In 1909 Robert Speer ended his report on the Protestant groups in Chile with these words: "There is one other missionary body at work in Chile, though it is not so much a body as a scattered set of individuals. These are the Seventh Day Adventists, whose deliberate policy seems to be to go to the congregations which other missionaries have gathered and proselyte them. I do not suppose anything can be done to reach these earnest people for they are acting in accordance with their consciences, but they are doing a great deal of harm all over South America"¹⁷. The reason for this complaint was that nearly all the early Adventist missionaries made the keeping of the Sabbath the central point of their message, even when they went to unevangelized areas. Even as late as 1935 it was usual to refer to converts as "new Sabbath keepers"¹⁸. All too often the polemics against the other Protestant denominations in the United States were merely transferred to the new scene in South America, with the result that it was felt to be more of a duty to indoctrinate those who had already become Protestants than to evangelize those who were in effect still without the Gospel. The effect of this indoctrination on the young converts was, however, merely confusing so that many of them lost all faith.

In 1906 the Adventist work in the Argentine, Chile, Uruguay and Paraguay was organized into an administrative unit called the Austral Conference Union later with its headquarters in Buenos Aires¹⁹. In the following year Chile was organized as a separate conference within

¹⁰ M. Ellsworth Olsen, *A History of the Origin and Progress of the Seventh Day Adventists*. Washington D.C. 1932³. p. 571.

¹¹ A. V. Olson, Op. Cit.

¹² *Missions Quarterly*, Report for third quarter 1920 to be found at the Adventist library in Washington D.C.

¹³ Olsen, Op. Cit. p. 571;

Olson, Op. Cit.

¹⁴ Ignacio Vergara, *El protestantismo en Chile*. Stgo. 1962³. p. 82.

¹⁵ Vergara, Op. Cit. p. 81.

¹⁶ *General Conference Report* no. 8, June 1, 1954. p. 179.

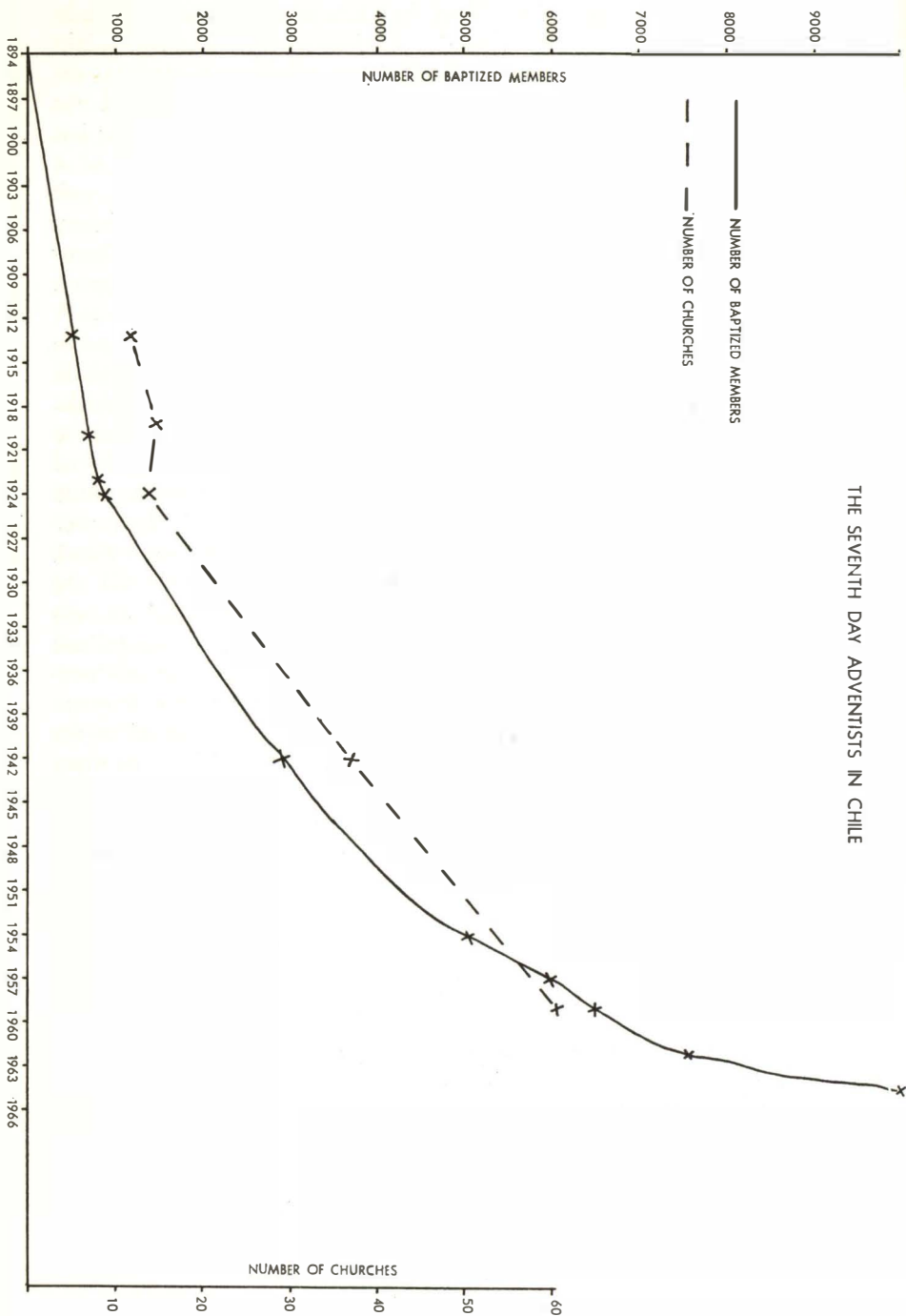
¹⁷ Robert E. Speer, *Missions in South America*. N.Y. 1909. p. 64.

¹⁸ *Missions Quarterly*, Report for fourth quarter 1935.

¹⁹ Vergara, Op. Cit. p. 61;

Olson, Op. Cit.

THE SEVENTH DAY ADVENTISTS IN CHILE



what became the Austral Union ²⁰. Progress was slow, at first, but has been astonishingly rapid during the last few years. Except in the south, where the work has started to penetrate to the poorer sections of the population, Adventism in Chile is predominantly a middle class movement ²¹. The churches are concentrated in the larger centres of population, and the number of the churches has increased less rapidly than the total of membership. Due to a fire in 1950 at the Santiago office of the Chile conference, the earlier records have been lost, and it has not been possible to plot the growth of membership year by year. Had this been possible, the curve would undoubtedly have shown more irregularities, but even after taking this into consideration, the growth of Adventist work in Chile is remarkably regular when compared to that of other denominations. Part of the explanation of this even growth lies in the careful indoctrination of new converts before they are accepted into membership. With the possible exception of the Presbyterians, who also laid great emphasis on doctrinal instruction, the Adventists have retained their members better than other denominations in Chile.

The other reason for the smoothness of the curve for Adventist growth in Chile, lies in the organization of this movement, which according to a Roman Catholic observer, is the most efficient of any Protestant church in South America ²². Because the Adventists believe that missionary work is a normal activity of the church, they do not have mission boards, but channel funds from the places where the church is more than self-supporting to those areas where the church still needs help. The result is that each year the Chile conference receives a certain subvention from the Austral Union. This money is controlled by an auditing committee in which Chileans have had a majority vote since 1962 ²³. To the extent that the Chile conference needs outside helpers, it passes specified requests to the headquarters in Washington, which is responsible for the sending out of North American missionaries. From the time of arrival in Chile, these workers are paid from Chilean funds, but at the same time a reserve fund is built up for them in Washington for when they return to their home country ²⁴. The authority of the worldwide movement over the Chile conference is thus assured and yet discrimination in the control of monies is avoided.

There has been nationalistic feeling between the Chileans and the Argentinians about the distribution of funds in the Austral union ²⁵, but the writer believes that such rivalry is less damaging than the anti-missionary spirit which has troubled most other Protestant denominations. The organization at congregational level is also very well

²⁰ Olsen, *Op. Cit.* pp. 571 ff.

²¹ Vergara, *Op. Cit.* p. 81.

²² Prudencio Damboriena, *El Protestantismo en América Latina*. Friburgo y Bogota 1962. I p. 123.

²³ N. W. Dunn's information.

²⁴ *Idem.*

²⁵ Christman's information.

adapted to the needs of the South American field. The local church elects its own officers annually. After they have been ordained by a pastor the local elders are able to administer the sacraments in their own church. The congregations must send their tithes direct to the conference. A local church can, therefore, function without a pastor, but the members pay for the support of pastors in any case, so that there is every incentive for them to want a pastor for themselves²⁶. Adventist church organization is based on a combination of democratic and authoritarian principles, which leaves room for local and regional initiative and nevertheless maintains central authority.

Recently the Adventists have been giving much attention in southern Chile to social programmes. In the province of Aysen, right in the south, they organized a co-operative land settlement scheme²⁷, and after the earthquakes in 1960 they did much relief work²⁸. These programmes may explain the recent success in reaching the poorer classes in southern Chile, but they do not explain the main Adventist growth amongst the middle classes.

The writer believes that this growth in the last few years is due to what amounts to a change in the Adventist message. It was felt that so much was said about the law that not enough importance was being given to the subject of grace. This new attitude started to make itself felt in South America around the year 1952²⁹, and has resulted in a much warmer evangelistic approach. Another result is that since 1954 there have been no more complaints in Peru or Chile about Adventist sheep stealing³⁰. The writer had been told of this development by Adventist leaders in Washington, but the extent and importance of this change only became fully apparent to him as he listened to a Sabbath school lesson which was being given in a neat little church in one of the suburbs of Santiago³¹. The passage being studied happened to come from the epistle to the Galatians, and in spite of the many opportunities for controversy, an exposition was given which was entirely in line with the best Evangelical or Reformed tradition.

There are also three Adventist splinter groups in Chile. The first, which is called the Seventh Day Adventist Reform Movement, arose as a result of a division which took place outside South America over matters of discipline. This movement was introduced into Chile around the year 1929 and now has six or more churches in the country and a total membership of around 150. The members lead a very austere and disciplined life. The two other splinter groups are called "Cabañistas" (Tabernaclers) and apparently owe their origin to divisions which took

²⁶ *Church Manual*, issued by the General Conference of Seventh Day Adventists. Washington D.C. 1959. pp. 75-79, 83, 164, 171-172.

²⁷ *I.R.M.*, Jan. 1956. p. 60.

²⁸ Vergara, *Op. Cit.* pp. 81 f.

²⁹ Christman's information.

³⁰ *Actas de la Asamblea Nazarena*, 1954.

³¹ La Cisterna, on Saturday Nov. 14, 1964.

place within Chile. The Zionist church now has 17 congregations, and the Evangelical Israelite church of the New Covenant which later separated itself from the Zionists has three³². The “Cabañistas” observe the Old Testament feasts and derive their name from the custom of living in tents for a week in the month of September. The members of these two groups feel themselves very closely linked to the Jews and several of them have emigrated to Israel.

b. The establishment of the Adventist movement in Peru

In 1898 two self-supporting Adventist laymen from Chile began missionary work in the Mollendo area in southern Peru³³. They went to Arequipa and distributed tracts in the market square, but were almost at once arrested, imprisoned and deported from the country at the Chilean government's expense³⁴. In the same year Escubar³⁵, another Adventist from Chile, went to Lima and supported himself there by working as a carpenter³⁶. The influx of foreigners had made the atmosphere in Lima slightly more liberal and this combined with the fact that Escubar went to work rather more discreetly than his colleagues in Arequipa made it possible for him to stay³⁷. Nevertheless the meetings had to be held with doors closed and shutters over the windows³⁸. Still Escubar managed to circulate considerable quantities of literature and when H. F. Ketring visited Lima from Chile in 1904 he found a group of about 20 believers. Ketring secretly baptized 7 of them, including one who was employed as a Bible Society colporteur and who reported that there were also some Sabbath keepers in the interior³⁹. In 1905 F. L. Perry arrived in Lima from the United States to consolidate the work, and in the following year the Peru mission was organized with A. N. Allen as its first president⁴⁰. In 1907 the services were engaged of a full-time colporteur⁴¹ and in 1909 Peru reported the existence in Peru of one organized church, four companies as well as some scattered believers⁴².

The really important development occurred, however, in a corner of Peru on the southern shores of lake Titicaca. The Indians there speak Aymará, which is different to Quechua; they are usually freeholders

³² Vergara, Op. Cit. pp. 148–153.

³³ Spicer, Op. Cit. p. 269.

³⁴ Mrs. Newell, *For Christ and Cuzco*. Lon. 1904 p. 63;

J. W. Westphal, Items from the history of the work in the Inca Union. *Missions Quarterly*, Fourth quarter. 1922.

³⁵ Harlan P. Beach and Others, *Protestant Missions in South America*. N.Y. 1907. pp. 152 ff.

³⁶ Spicer, Op. Cit. p. 269.

³⁷ Westphal, *Missions Quarterly*, fourth quarter 1922.

³⁸ Spicer, Op. Cit. p. 270.

³⁹ Matilda Erickson Andross, *The Story of the Advent Message*. Washington D.C. 1926, p. 293.

⁴⁰ Muir, Op. Cit.

⁴¹ Westphal, *Missions Quarterly*, fourth quarter 1922.

⁴² Olson, Op. Cit.

and are considerably more independent than the Quechua Indians who work mostly on big farms⁴³. In an effort to deprive them of their land, the big landowners have carried on endless lawsuits against the Aymará Indians and this has led to bloody uprisings. After the father of an Indian boy named Manuel Zuñiga Camacho had been obliged to sell his land, young Manuel came under the care of an uncle who was working in the Chilean nitrate fields⁴⁴. The uncle sent him to a Protestant school in Iquique⁴⁵, and afterwards Manuel also worked in the nitrate mines till he had earned enough to buy some land in his native village of Platería, on the southern shore of lake Titicaca, just to the east of the provincial town Chucuito and some twenty-five miles to the south-east of Puno, the departmental capital.

After returning to Peru, Camacho was drafted into the Army, and during his military service came into contact with Eduardo Forga who, as related in chapter twelve, played a vital part in the establishment of Protestant work in Arequipa. Forga helped Camacho to obtain a Bible and encouraged him to read⁴⁶. Not long afterwards Forga was obliged to leave Peru and went to London, but he maintained the contact with Camacho through correspondence⁴⁷. Through Forga Camacho came to realize that education would be a key to solve many of his people's problems, and in 1904 he established a small school in Platería⁴⁸. In this period he also led a delegation of the Indians to the President of the Republic to plead for schools for his people and for protection from the pillage and injustice to which the Aymarás were constantly being subjected by the big landowners⁴⁹. Apparently nothing came of this request, and Camacho's position was made even more difficult by the Roman Catholic church which at this time all too often took the side of the wealthy farmers. Although Camacho's school had as yet no special religious basis, the Bishop of Puno sent friars to dissuade the Indians from taking advantage of the school. In one of the sermons the Indians were informed that "God never intended them to go to school and get learning. Their business was to attend to their sheep and crops, and that if they persisted in attending school, their crops would be blighted and disease would kill their flocks"⁵⁰.

⁴³ Andrés Achata's information.

⁴⁴ Ritchie, How Peru attained Liberty of Worship. Manuscript in Money's possession in Lima.

⁴⁵ Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles in theory and practice*. N.Y. 1946. p. 53 (This school must have been the Iquique English College run by the Methodists. The records before 1897, and for the years 1898 to 1902 are missing so Manuel Camacho's name does not appear.)

⁴⁶ A. W. Spalding, *Christ's last Legion*. Washington D.C. 1949. p. 420; Spicer. *Op. Cit.* p. 274.

⁴⁷ F. A. Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*, Mountain View. 1920. p. 286.

⁴⁸ Ritchie, How Peru attained Liberty of worship.

⁴⁹ Barbara Westphal, *Ana Stahl of the Andes and Amazon*. Mountain View. 1960. p. 34.

⁵⁰ Ritchie, How Peru attained Liberty of Worship. Ritchie took the words within quotation marks from an article that appeared in the Puno newspaper "Siglo".

When this argument failed, the bishop had Camacho accused before the authorities of fomenting unrest among the Indians. In the end it seems that Camacho had to close his school, and in the earlier part of 1907 he travelled to Arequipa and begged Jarrett or Ritchie to take up residence in his village. Camacho believed that the presence of a foreigner would restrain the priests and the local authorities from the worst of their abuses, but neither Jarrett nor Ritchie was free to go⁵¹. The opportunity then passed to the Adventists who had already had some contact with Camacho's region. In 1903 Eduardo Thomann, one of the early converts in Chile, made a colportage trip through Bolivia and southern Peru, and discovered a group of interested persons in Puno⁵². In 1907 Eduardo was stationed in Bolivia and paid more visits to Puno⁵³. It was, therefore, probably Eduardo that Camacho met not long after his abortive trip to Arequipa. Camacho repeated his request for a missionary⁵⁴, and in January 1908 Perry visited Puno from Lima. He gave the group instruction "and in two days time fifteen adults had promised to keep the Sabbath and walk in the light of the truth"⁵⁵.

These new converts to Adventism spoke to Camacho about the Sabbath⁵⁶, but the influence of the letters from Forga, who became an Adventist in the beginning of 1907, was probably greater⁵⁷. Towards the end of 1908 Camacho started keeping the Sabbath, and when A. N. Allen and W. R. Pohle in Lima heard this they went to Puno with the intention of visiting him. No one would lend them horses for the ride out to Platería, but the following night Camacho had a dream that two strangers would direct him to preach the Gospel to his people, and the following morning he came into Puno looking for his visitors⁵⁸. It was arranged that F. A. Stahl, who had just been appointed to Bolivia, should give half of his time to help Camacho⁵⁹. Encouraged by this promise of support Camacho reopened his school in 1909⁶⁰, and within a very short time it was being attended by 60 to 70 pupils⁶¹. In the following year the Stahls went to live at Platería⁶² and Camacho was baptized⁶³. The work began to expand so rapidly that in 1911 Stahl was officially transferred to Peru and from then on gave it all his time⁶⁴.

⁵¹ Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles*, p. 53.

⁵² J. W. Westphal, *Missions Quarterly*, fourth quarter 1922.

⁵³ Matilda Andross, *Op. Cit.* pp. 294 f.

⁵⁴ Ritchie, *How Peru attained Liberty of worship*.

⁵⁵ *The General Conference Bulletin*, June 6, 1909. p. 355.

⁵⁶ *Idem.* May 28, 1909.

⁵⁷ Stahl, *Op. Cit.* p. 286.

⁵⁸ Spicer, *Op. Cit.* p. 274;

Barbara Westphal, *Op. Cit.* p. 34.

⁵⁹ Spicer, *Op. Cit.* p. 274;

Olsen, *Op. Cit.* p. 580.

⁶⁰ Stahl, *Op. Cit.* p. 286.

⁶¹ *The General Conference Report*, June 6, 1909. p. 355.

⁶² Ritchie, *How Peru attained Liberty of worship*.

⁶³ Stahl, *Op. Cit.* p. 286.

⁶⁴ Spalding, *Op. Cit.* p. 420.

c. The Lake Titicaca Mission under Stahl's leadership

The remarkable success of the work around Lake Titicaca is to a considerable extent due to the personalities of its missionary pioneers Frederick and Ana Stahl. Frederick was a well trained nurse, and his care of the sick was the basis on which the work started⁶⁵. Ana Stahl was a teacher and her help proved decisive in building up the educational work. The Stahls were energetic pioneers who realized the importance of the social application of the Gospel and presented their message in a way that was relevant to the needs of their hearers⁶⁶. Most important of all, in their spiritual attitude they were well ahead of most of the Adventists of the time. There was no sectarianism in Stahl. While Clark was in Cahuapanas, as mentioned in the previous chapter, he found that he could have real fellowship in prayer with Stahl, who was then also pioneering along the Amazon⁶⁷. Stahl's vital message to the Indians was that Jesus loved them⁶⁸, and that they should believe on Him⁶⁹. He was a convinced Adventist, and yet his book "*In the Land of the Incas*" contains no reference to Adventist tenets on the second coming and apart from an occasional mention of Sabbath schools, does not even use the word sabbath. Stahl preached salvation by grace⁷⁰, and in this he set a stamp on the whole Lake Titicaca mission⁷¹.

A second important factor in the success of the mission was Camacho himself. Not only did he act as interpreter for the early missionaries⁷², but he was able to allay the suspicions of his fellow Indians and assure them that these foreigners were really interested in their good⁷³. But the greatest factor in the success of the work was the fact that the Indians were deeply conscious of their need. The news that a missionary had come to help them and treat their diseases spread like wildfire. The Indians came in such numbers that it was necessary to enlist the help of the Indians themselves⁷⁴. One of the first things that Stahl did, was to teach them the elements of personal hygiene. He also encouraged them to clean up their huts and demonstrated how a programme of vaccination could control a small pox epidemic⁷⁵. Both on the Sabbath and during the week, Stahl taught them out of the Bible, and many Indians were converted and delivered from slavery to drink and to coca chewing. Even their appearance was transformed and in this way the

⁶⁵ Olson, Op. Cit.

⁶⁶ Mrs. Hayden's information and recollection.

⁶⁷ David Milne's information.

⁶⁸ Stahl, Op. Cit. p. 129.

⁶⁹ Idem. p. 271.

⁷⁰ Christman and Muir's information.

⁷¹ E. H. Wilcox, *In Perils Oft*. Nashville Tenn. 1961. p. 157.

⁷² Spicer, Op. Cit. pp. 274 f.

⁷³ Ritchie, *Indigenous Church Principles*. p. 53.

⁷⁴ Stahl, Op. Cit. p. 126.

⁷⁵ Stahl, Op. Cit. p. 131.

power of the Gospel was advertised far and wide⁷⁶. After a time as many as 800 were attending the Sabbath meetings at Platería⁷⁷.

In 1911 Luciano Chambi came to the Stahl's house and asked to be taken in, so that he might learn how he could be a worker for God⁷⁸. Ana Stahl suggested to her husband that this would be a good way to start training a national ministry, and indeed Chambi became the first Indian to be ordained as an elder. Afterwards the Stahls trained a series of Indian boys and girls by having them in their home⁷⁹, and it soon became obvious that a properly organized school was needed. In 1913 buildings for a school, a dispensary and mission headquarters were erected at Platería⁸⁰. Camacho's expectation that the presence of foreigners would act as a restraining influence on the enemies of the work was not, however, fulfilled. Priests threatened that all who helped in the building operations would be taken prisoner, and when work quietly went on⁸¹, a disgraceful attack was carried out which, just as in the case of Penzotti's imprisonment, finally outraged public opinion to such an extent that it changed the course of Peruvian history.

On March 3, 1913 Valentín Ampuero, Bishop of Puno, accompanied by more than 200 Indians from Chucuito, including the governor and two justices of the peace of that town, descended on the village of Platería⁸². The Stahls happened to be away buying supplies⁸³. The bishop had the keys of Stahl's house taken from the caretaker by force, and the mob broke in, destroyed the school materials, mixed up the medicines and took away the electrical apparatus⁸⁴. Then the mob tried to compel the Indians living about the mission house to kneel before the bishop and kiss his hand. When five Adventist converts refused to do this, they were seized and bound with leather thongs. At this stage Camacho, who also had been away, returned to his house and was promptly seized and brought before the bishop who told him "that he had an order from the President of the Republic to wipe out the heretics. Camacho observed that any such order would have gone to the prefect, not to the bishop, a reply which further enraged the prelate. When the Indian went on to denounce the religious festivals as drunken debauches, Ampuero shouted to the mob to tie him up with the others. Camacho, however, was so respected by the Indians that none dared to carry out the order"⁸⁵.

The bishop's intention had been to intimidate the Indians and bring

⁷⁶ Spicer, *Op. Cit.* pp. 274 ff.

⁷⁷ Barbara Westphal, *Op. Cit.* p. 40.

⁷⁸ F. A. Stahl, *Missions Quarterly*, second quarter 1918.

⁷⁹ Barbara Westphal, *Op. Cit.* p. 7.

⁸⁰ Olsen, *Op. Cit.* p. 580.

⁸¹ F. A. Stahl, *In het land der Inka's*. The Hague. undated. p. 67.

⁸² F. A. Stahl, *In the land of the Incas*. p. 172. Taken from a letter written by Camacho while in jail, to a lawyer in Lima, and dated Mar. 7, 1913.

⁸³ F. A. Stahl, *In the land of the Incas*. p. 162.

⁸⁴ Ritchie, *How Peru attained Liberty of worship*.

⁸⁵ *Idem*.

them back to feudal submission to the church and the landowners. By stirring up nationalistic feelings against the "Yankee" he hoped to be able to eliminate Stahl's influence and after that he expected no further difficulties. But Camacho's defiant attitude threatened the church with such a dangerous loss of prestige that the bishop's supporters resorted to desperate measures. A priest dismounted and beat Camacho with his whip, whereupon the Chucuito authorities joined in and brutally mis-handled the Indian leader. "Little Patricio (Camacho's 11 year old son) weeping begged the bishop to save his father from being murdered. The bishop then interposed"⁸⁶ and the six Indians were driven to jail together with two others whom they came across on the way. The judge in Puno released them on March 11, but referred the case to the supreme court in Lima as it involved a bishop. In August the supreme court confirmed the Indians' acquittal.

The delicate balance between civil and ecclesiastical authority had been seriously disturbed by this unfortunate incident, and the people in Puno felt that if the Indians had committed some crime, the bishop should have reported this to the secular authorities rather than arrest them himself. So great was the popular feeling against Ampuero that he left Puno for several months till things had calmed down somewhat⁸⁷. Meanwhile in order to appease the sentiment in his constituency, one of the senators for the department of Puno presented a bill in the Peruvian Parliament to amend the fourth article of the constitution by suppressing the last phrase, which read "and does not permit the public exercise of any other". As amended the article would read: "The nation professes the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion; the State protects it"⁸⁸. This proposal might not have come to anything had not Maxwell, the Adventist missionary in Lima, Algorta the M.E. pastor, and Ritchie at once sent out circular letters to friends of liberty throughout the republic, telling them of the presentation and urging them to send petitions with lists of signatures to their representatives in both chambers of Congress. Ritchie in particular carried on a big publicity campaign to promote the bill.

Meanwhile the Bishop of Puno and some of his priests sent letters to officials in Lima accusing the Stahls of inciting the Indians to rebellion and teaching them to disobey the authorities. As a result the President of Peru sent a commission to conduct an investigation on the spot. "The commissioners found that the Indians who had accepted the Gospel were far more intelligent⁸⁹ and more courteous than the others"⁹⁰, and returned a report which was very favourable to the Adventist work. To

⁸⁶ Ritchie, *How Peru attained Liberty of worship*.

⁸⁷ F. A. Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*. p. 183.

⁸⁸ Ritchie, *How Peru attained Liberty of worship*.

⁸⁹ The chewing of coca leaves numbs the Indians' brains, and Stahl, in common with other Protestant missionaries who have worked under the Indians, laid great emphasis on their need to abandon this habit.

⁹⁰ F. A. Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*. pp. 183 ff.

the consternation of the clergy, the amendment was passed in September of that year, but because a change in the Peruvian constitution needs further ratification the amendment did not finally become law till October 20, 1915⁹¹. Nevertheless the crucial battle had already been won in 1913. The result of this incident was permanently to alter public sentiment in favour of the Adventist work around Puno⁹², and to give Evangelical work throughout the country considerably more freedom.

The new school in Platería opened in 1913 with Bartolomé Rojas from the Argentine as teacher. It soon had to close because Rojas did not have a Peruvian teaching certificate, but in 1914 Rojas passed his Peruvian examinations and the school re-opened with 83 students⁹³. Unfortunately Rojas and his wife contracted tuberculosis soon afterwards and had to leave. Ana Stahl then took over the school with Luciano Chambi as her helper. Later both the Stahls fell ill, but by then missionary reinforcements had come from the United States and the work could continue⁹⁴. At first the Indians were afraid of coming to school, but this fear soon disappeared⁹⁵ and more and more communities started asking for their own schools. As soon as they were ready, graduates from the school at Platería were sent as teachers to these new places. In view of the changed public sentiment, the authorities did not insist on official diplomas for them. The mission paid their salaries, but the Indians had to provide the building. By 1918, 19 mission schools were functioning⁹⁶, and there were requests for double that number⁹⁷. By the end of the following year the mission had 46 primary schools, 45 of which were under Indians trained at Platería⁹⁸. The school programmes were conducted in Spanish, but in spite of this it was not possible to keep pace with the requests for new schools.

Up to 1917 the work had been restricted to the Aymará-speaking Indians⁹⁹, but already in 1914 Stahl had received enquiries from the Quechua-speaking Indians living north of the lake¹⁰⁰. In 1916 work could be started among the Aymará-speaking Indians living on the north shore of the lake bordering an area peopled by Quechua-speaking Indians. Finally when some meetings could be held among the Quechuas in the following year, one of their old chiefs was so moved that, with tears streaming down his cheeks, he exclaimed in a loud voice; "Oh my people, heaven has come to us! This is nothing less than heaven that has come to us!"¹⁰¹. The landowners struck back savagely and in 1918 on

⁹¹ *South America*, Lon. Jan. 1916. p. 151.

⁹² F. A. Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*. p. 183.

⁹³ Olsen, *Op. Cit.* p. 580.

⁹⁴ Barbara Westphal, *Op. Cit.* pp. 40 ff.

⁹⁵ E. H. Wilcox, *In Perils Oft*. Nashville Tenn. 1961. p. 89.

⁹⁶ Olsen, *Op. Cit.* p. 580.

⁹⁷ *Missions Quarterly*, second quarter 1918.

⁹⁸ Spicer, *Op. Cit.* p. 278.

⁹⁹ F. A. Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*. p. 261.

¹⁰⁰ *Thirteenth Sabbath Offering*, Sept. 26, 1914.

¹⁰¹ F. A. Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*. p. 271.

the north side of the lake, Indians were being "arrested wholesale on trumped up charges" ¹⁰². Among the submissive Quechuas, where the landowners were all powerful, the persecution was so savage that some of the Indians who had shown interest were imprisoned for five years ¹⁰³. Under these circumstances it was useless to expect that students sent out from the training school at Platería would be able to establish schools among the Quechuas. A missionary of daring and rugged character was needed and in 1919, Pedro Kalbermatter a convert from the Argentine, was asked to go to Peru for this purpose. He tried to establish a school at Saman to the north of the lake in July 1920 ¹⁰⁴, but after he had built the walls, an attack carried out in his absence, razed the construction to the ground ¹⁰⁵.

In the midst of his discouragement and perplexity, Kalbermatter received a request to build a new mission at Laro, a little further to the north. 700 Indians helped Kalbermatter to erect a new school building. So as to be able to defend themselves a trench was dug around the school building and firearms were collected, but when on a certain Sabbath the expected attack materialized, Kalbermatter felt compelled to pray. After he had risen from his knees he took a spade and buried his rifles and pistols. Then, after having instructed the Indians posted round about the building to keep calm, he walked out resolutely to the armed band of 200 attackers with a Bible in one hand and with his other hand ready to shake theirs. Gun muzzles were pushed into his face, but Kalbermatter quietly pointed out that the Indians who were with him had built the school on their own land with full permission of the Peruvian government and that he himself had orders from his superiors to stay there. The attackers then fired some shots over Kalbermatter's head. The 400 Indians defending the school building were nearly all armed with sticks and slings, but the chief had a revolver, and he in return fired three shots into the air. The attacking Indians then mistook the sticks of the defending Indians for rifles, became panic stricken and fled ¹⁰⁶.

In a second attack at the end of 1920, instead of standing their ground, Kalbermatter's Indians started running to the mountains to hide themselves. A group of 50 was surrounded by horsemen and of this group twelve were killed and many were wounded ¹⁰⁷. Kalbermatter, who had seen everything from a distance, rode as hard as he could to Puno, where he gave a report to the Prefect. A judicial examination

¹⁰² Spicer, Op. Cit. pp. 274 f;

E. P. Howard, *Missions Quarterly*, second quarter 1918.

¹⁰³ Pedro Kalbermatter, *Veinte años como misionero entre los Indios del Perú*. Buenos Aires. 1950. p. 47.

¹⁰⁴ *Missions Quarterly*, fourth quarter 1922.

¹⁰⁵ Kalbermatter, Op. Cit. p. 71.

¹⁰⁶ Idem. pp. 77-83;

H. U. Stevens, *Missions Quarterly*, fourth quarter 1922.

¹⁰⁷ Kalbermatter, Op. Cit. pp. 88 f;

Spicer, Op. Cit. pp. 274 ff.

followed and the government in Lima ordered that every effort should be made to give the Adventists the protection they needed ¹⁰⁸. Because of the isolation of many of these places and the wild nature of the terrain this was not always possible, and violence continued for several years. In another attack as many as 15 Indians were killed in one afternoon ¹⁰⁹, and altogether it has been estimated that one Indian was killed for nearly every station and outstation established among them ¹¹⁰, most of the casualties occurring among the Quechuas.

By 1920 two Indian missionary licentiates ¹¹¹ and 45 native teachers were at work. Mission headquarters had been established at Puno, and the work among the Aymarás was well established with the schools grouped around six mission stations ¹¹². Educational work had gone hand in hand with the preaching of the Gospel. A church had been established at each main station, and the teachers were acting as evangelists in the outstations ¹¹³. After ten years of work the church membership stood at 2075; an incomparable achievement, which had been attained without any lowering of the standards ¹¹⁴. But 12 years of hard work at an altitude of 12,500 feet above sea-level had so weakened Stahl, that in 1920 he had to return to the United States. In March 1921 he returned to Peru, but he was not allowed to work in the altitude for health reasons. He then pioneered along the upper reaches of the Amazon ¹¹⁵ and there also established a work among those who did not know the name of Christ or at best had only heard the merest mention of it.

d. The further development of the Lake Titicaca Mission

E. H. Wilcox took over the superintendency of the mission from Stahl. He was immediately faced with a dilemma. There was then still no government sponsored education for the Indians living in rural districts ¹¹⁶, and during 1921 no less than 120 requests for new schools were received ¹¹⁷. At the same time the Board in Washington felt that where the work was established, the Indians should start paying for their medicines, their teachers and their school equipment ¹¹⁸. Wilcox devised a plan by which all scholars would be obliged to pay a yearly matricu-

¹⁰⁸ Kalbermatter, Op. Cit. pp. 89-92.

¹⁰⁹ Wilcox, Op. Cit. p. 167.

¹¹⁰ *Missions Quarterly*, third quarter 1937.

¹¹¹ F. A. Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*. p. 286.

¹¹² Spicer, Op. Cit. pp. 278 f.

¹¹³ *General Conference Union*, May 25, 1922. p. 251;
W. E. Murray's information.

¹¹⁴ Spicer, Op. Cit. pp. 274 f.

¹¹⁵ *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, Vol. 103. no. 27 June 6, 1926. Washington. p. 14.

¹¹⁶ Wilcox, Op. Cit. p. 105.

¹¹⁷ Wilcox, *Missions Quarterly*, fourth quarter, 1922.

¹¹⁸ Wilcox, *In Perils Oft*. p. 58.

lation fee of two soles¹¹⁹. Application for new schools would only be accepted if a fully equipped building was provided and an attendance of 80 scholars was guaranteed so that the salary of the teacher (120 soles a year) and the other expenses could be met. All medicines dispensed by the mission would have to be paid for¹²⁰. The directors of the various stations agreed to put this plan into operation provided Wilcox explained it personally. As a result Wilcox spent the latter half of 1921 explaining to the Indians at every place where the mission was working that by making these payments they could not only show their gratitude to God for bringing them into His marvellous light, but also make it possible for the Gospel to be brought to others¹²¹.

Needless to say there were complaints¹²², but the applications for new schools did not diminish. A system was also organized whereby the Indians brought their tithes and free-will offerings each week to the mission stations in the form of chickens, eggs, sheep, grain or vegetables. The products were then weighed and each Indian was then credited for what he had brought at current market prices, so that a check could be kept on whether he was really paying his tithes. The same system was applied for the payment of school fees¹²³. In this way the schools became entirely self-supporting apart from the cost of the supervision by foreign workers¹²⁴. But the most important change was related to the training of the teachers. If teachers first had to pass six or seven grades at the central school before they could be sent out, it would be years before the urgent call for more schools could be answered. Young Indian men were, therefore, invited to a training course held during the long Peruvian school holidays from December to April. They were taught the first grade and also shown how they could pass this knowledge on to others. These Indians went out to the new schools and taught this first grade from April to December, whereupon they returned to the training school for a course on the second grade, and so the process, which somewhat resembled the Lancasterian system used by James Thomson, repeated itself right up to the eighth grade¹²⁵.

This scheme was extraordinarily successful, and by 1924 the number of schools had increased to 80, the enrolment of pupils to 4150, and the total of native workers to 73¹²⁶. Two years later nearly 200 schools were functioning¹²⁷, but the greatest importance of this scheme lay in the fact that it was a means of training a corps of leaders in the service

¹¹⁹ Idem. p. 77. Two soles were then equivalent to 75 U.S. cents.

¹²⁰ W. H. Williams, *Missions Quarterly*, fourth quarter 1922.

¹²¹ Idem;

Wilcox, *In Perils Oft*. pp. 60 and 98.

¹²² Wilcox, *In Perils Oft*. p. 78.

¹²³ W. H. Williams, *Missions Quarterly*, fourth quarter 1922.

¹²⁴ Carlyle B. Haynes, *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*. June 11, 1930.

¹²⁵ Wilcox, *In Perils Oft*. p. 77.

¹²⁶ Matilda Andross, *Op. Cit.* p. 297.

¹²⁷ *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, June 6, 1926.

of their fellow men. In order to accommodate the increasing number of grades for which the Indians were being trained, a teacher-training college was established at the rail junction of Juliaca in 1922 ¹²⁸. Those who attended paid for their food and clothing, from the small salary they received as teachers of the outlying schools. Their tuition they paid by working two hours a day in the rugmaking or woodworking industries which were attached to the college ¹²⁹. The weakness of this system was that the spiritual work in the outlying churches was largely dependent on the school teachers ¹³⁰, who were often away and were in any case overloaded with work. This in turn placed a tremendous burden on the few ordained ministers in the mission, most of them workers from North America who were entrusted with the spiritual supervision of the mission stations. At first all the converts were visited at least twice a year in their homes and while this could be maintained the percentage of those who remained faithful was very high ¹³¹.

Added to their increasing spiritual responsibilities the directors of the mission stations lived under a considerable strain. "Hardly a week passed for years, without word being passed along that a mob was forming to march on some station and kill the missionary" ¹³², and on top of that, those from North America were expected to work for seven years at a stretch in the high altitude of the altiplano ¹³³. The result was that sickness and even death depleted the ministers' ranks. In 1923 three central stations were without a director, and already it was being noted that "without foreign directors the work at the mission stations comes to a standstill and dwindles" ¹³⁴. In 1926 five stations were without directors ¹³⁵. In order to keep Sabbath schools running during the vacation months it was necessary to ask some of the teachers to stay away from the training courses in Juliaca and to work during that period as evangelists ¹³⁶. The declining interest at those places where foreign direction was lacking, combined with a general shortage of teachers obliged many of the schools in the outlying areas to close down ¹³⁷, so that by 1928 only 82 schools directly under the control of the mission were still functioning ¹³⁸.

At the same time there was pressure from the headquarters in Washington to reduce the subsidy for the established fields so that the money could be used for new areas ¹³⁹. In 1928 the superintendent of the Lake

¹²⁸ Muir, Op. Cit.

¹²⁹ *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, June 6, 1926.

¹³⁰ H. M. Colburn, *Missions Quarterly*, third quarter 1925.

¹³¹ Wilcox, *In Perils Oft*. p. 149.

¹³² Idem. p. 177.

¹³³ *Missions Quarterly*, third quarter 1925.

¹³⁴ *Missions Quarterly*, fourth quarter 1923.

¹³⁵ *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, June 7, 1926.

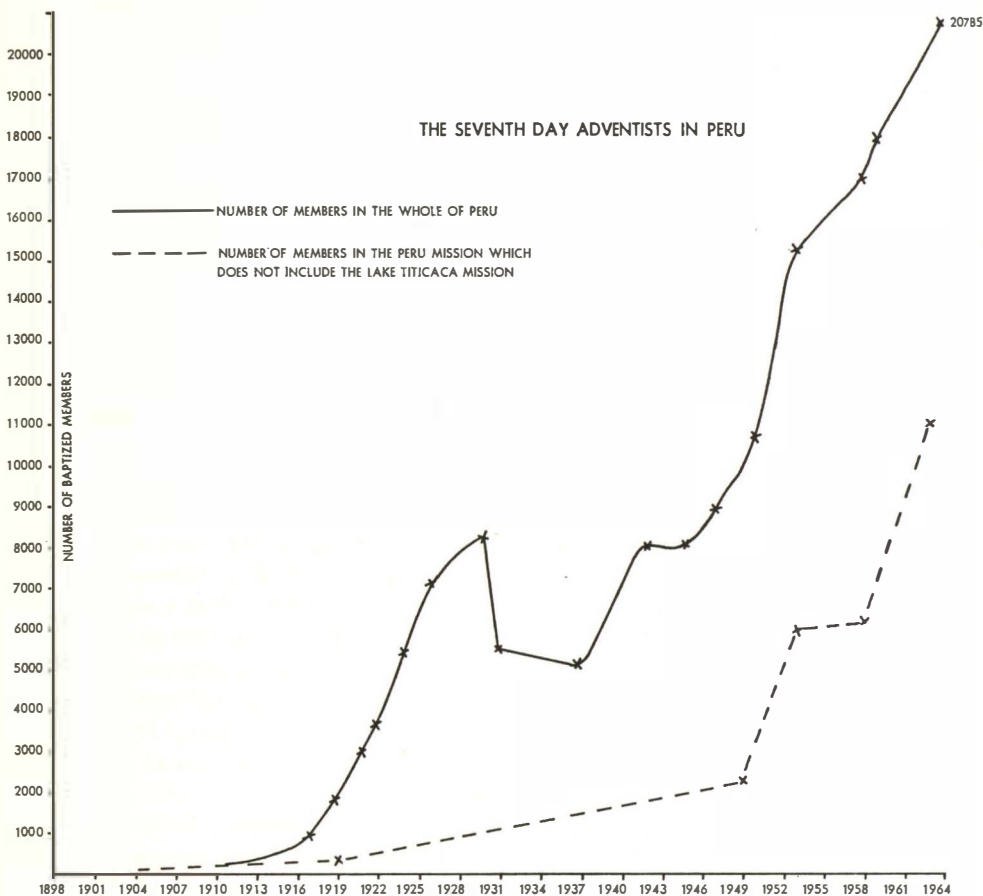
¹³⁶ E. H. Wilcox, *Missions Quarterly*, third quarter 1925.

¹³⁷ H. M. Colburn, Idem.

¹³⁸ H. D. Isaac, Idem, third quarter 1928.

¹³⁹ W. E. Murray's information;

Carlyle B. Haynes, *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*. June 11, 1930.



Titicaca Mission reported that the work had grown so rapidly that it was making demands on the staff which they were entirely unable to meet ¹⁴⁰. As a result of the lack of pastoral care and of the unwillingness of the Board in Washington to provide the money needed for more workers ¹⁴¹, many Indians lapsed from the faith. In the first few months of 1929, native teachers and evangelists were set to visiting all the churches, giving special attention to the lapsed members. Revival meetings were held at every post, and those who failed to take part, were visited in their homes. Finally those who persisted in staying away, were struck off the list ¹⁴², with the result that in 1930 3000 names were dropped from a membership list of just over 8000. The problems of the mission were further aggravated by the government decree in the middle of 1929 forbidding the teaching of non-Roman Catholic religion in schools ¹⁴³. Leguía was seeking re-election and was informed by the Catholic party that their support was conditional on his preventing the continuation of Adventist educational work in the departments of Puno, Amazonas and Ayacucho ¹⁴⁴. As the work in Amazonas which Stahl had started was still only comparatively small, and as the work started by Pedro Kalbermatter in Ayacucho in 1928 ¹⁴⁵, never amounted to much because of the fierce opposition encountered there, this is an indication of how deep an impression the Adventist work around Puno had made in political circles.

The effects of the purging of the membership lists and of the government decree were, however, very temporary. It proved to be impossible to close the village schools and the teacher-training courses at Juliaca were interrupted only for two years till a change of government in Lima brought relief ¹⁴⁶. Far more serious was the effect of the headquarters policy of giving priority to new work over that which was already established ¹⁴⁷. The impact of this policy was accentuated by the world-wide economic crisis at this time and the budget for the Titicaca mission in 1933 only made provision for five foreign station directors as compared with nine two years earlier ¹⁴⁸. The result was that the work stagnated and even went back a little. The number of schools which had increased to 90 in 1930 dropped to 80 in 1937 ¹⁴⁹, but after this the work in the Puno region again started to expand ¹⁵⁰.

¹⁴⁰ Haynes, *Missions Quarterly*, third quarter 1928.

¹⁴¹ *Missions Quarterly*, third quarter 1925.

¹⁴² Haynes, *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, June 11, 1930.

¹⁴³ *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, June 9, 1930.

¹⁴⁴ W. E. Murray's information.

¹⁴⁵ Haynes, *Missions Quarterly*, third quarter 1928.

¹⁴⁶ *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, June 9, 1930;

W. E. Murray's information.

¹⁴⁷ *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, June 11, 1930.

¹⁴⁸ F. E. Bresee, *Missions Quarterly*, first quarter 1933.

¹⁴⁹ *Missions Quarterly*, third quarter 1937.

¹⁵⁰ Kenneth Grubb, 1938 *Supplement to the West Coast Republics of South America*. Lon. 1930.

The services of the clinic which was established at Juliaca in 1922 ¹⁵¹ certainly helped, but the graduation in increasing numbers of trained Peruvian workers from the Adventist institute in Lima constituted the decisive factor in this recovery ¹⁵². For a long time, therefore, this Indian work was dependent on outside leadership, either from the United States or from other social classes within Peru.

Already in 1937 the mission reported the presence of free State schools in the area, although as yet they were not affecting the Adventist educational programme ¹⁵³. Up to 1947 the mission continued to lay the main emphasis on the work of its schools, but after that as State education became increasingly important, prior attention was given to building up churches. In 1950 there were still 166 primary schools, but by 1960 only 47 ¹⁵⁴. This change has been accompanied by a development of the native ministry and since 1945 Indians have been fulfilling not only the lower functions, but have gradually been taking over the direction of the mission stations ¹⁵⁵. In 1946 a government census showed that 29,000 people in the department of Puno considered themselves to be Seventh Day Adventists, although the official membership of the Lake Titicaca Mission at that time stood at less than 6000 ¹⁵⁶. By 1944 the membership had climbed to 9433, but it has remained constant since then. The work around Azangaro has gone back and it seems in general that the Quechuas are less persevering than the Aymarás ¹⁵⁷. The freeholding Aymarás enjoy a better standard of living than the Quechuas, and it may be that the prohibition of alcohol and festivities which characterizes the Adventist work as well as that of other Protestant missions, robs the Quechua Indian of a highlight in his dreary existence that the Aymará can more easily compensate in other ways ¹⁵⁸.

e. The Adventist work in the rest of Peru

Outside of the Titicaca area the Adventist work in Peru advanced much more slowly. In 1913 a work was started in the mountain town of Laraos in the province of Yauyos ¹⁵⁹. In spite of opposition the group managed to maintain itself till 1920 ¹⁶⁰, but after that it came to an end. The work which the Adventists tried to establish at Urcos, a small place to the south of Cuzco, suffered the same fate. But in the bigger centres they were much more successful. A work was established in Huancayo,

¹⁵¹ H. U. Stevens, *Missions Quarterly*, third quarter 1925.

¹⁵² *Missions Quarterly*, fourth quarter 1945.

¹⁵³ Idem. Third quarter 1937.

¹⁵⁴ Andrés Achata's information.

¹⁵⁵ *Missions Quarterly*, second quarter 1945.

¹⁵⁶ *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, June 13, 1946.

¹⁵⁷ Achata's information.

¹⁵⁸ Money's suggestion.

¹⁵⁹ E. L. Maxwell, *Up and Down the Andes on a Burro. Mountain View*, 1921. p. 23.

¹⁶⁰ Spicer, *Op. Cit.* p. 271.

which has continued to flourish through the years¹⁶¹. Although the group in Arequipa only had 12 members in 1928¹⁶², it was by 1937 the largest white congregation in the Inca Union¹⁶³. Both here and in Lima the work was considerably helped forward by the migration from the Puno area to the larger urban centres. In fact the impressive success achieved by the Lake Titicaca Mission created a willingness to listen to the Adventist message throughout Peru and Bolivia. By 1946 the Adventist membership in these two countries was greater than that of all the other Evangelical churches together¹⁶⁴, and in spite of the recent growth of other denominations, it is still true to-day that half the Protestants in Peru are Adventists¹⁶⁵. It is a remarkable fact that although every other Protestant denomination has experienced far greater growth in Chile than in Peru, yet the Adventist membership in Peru is now double that of Chile, and the writer believes that this is chiefly due to the deep impression that the achievements in the Puno area have made on the minds of many Peruvians.

Another factor in the growth of the work outside the Titicaca area has been the institute at Lima. Forga, who died in Spain, willed a portion of his legacy to the Adventist work in Peru. Part of this money was used to establish a secondary school for the training of national workers in Lima in 1919¹⁶⁶. One student graduated in 1923, but the next graduations only took place in 1928. In 1942 the school was suddenly closed by the ministry of education, but in 1944 it was given official recognition, under the name "Colegio Unión". While the school was closed a new site was found 15 miles outside of Lima, and the first classes were held there in 1946. The greatest development has taken place since the move and the establishment now includes a three year ministerial course, a commercial school and a teacher-training department. From the start industries have been attached to the school so that students could pay their way by working part of the day. These industries now include shoemaking, printing, baking, as well as dairy and poultry farming¹⁶⁷. Important as the "Colegio Unión" is, it cannot account for the difference in the growth of Adventism in Peru and Chile, because the latter country has a comparable establishment at Chillan, and the non-Indian work in the two countries is largely similar.

The Adventists have tried to start work among the Indians outside the Lake Titicaca area, but apart from what has been achieved among the jungle Indians in the Amazonas region, nowhere with real success. This shows the importance of Stahl's presentation of the Gospel, but there is also another factor involved. Only around Puno did the Ad-

¹⁶¹ H. U. Stevens, *Missions Quarterly*, third quarter 1925.

¹⁶² Murray's information.

¹⁶³ *Missions Quarterly*, third quarter 1937.

¹⁶⁴ *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, June 13, 1946.

¹⁶⁵ Money's information.

¹⁶⁶ Spicer, *Op. Cit.* 270.

¹⁶⁷ H. C. Morton, *Missions Quarterly*, fourth quarter 1958.

ventists take up the work at the express invitation of the Indians, and to a considerable extent the initiative remained in the hands of the Indians. The Adventists may have been equally disinterested in their motives in what they did outside the Puno area, but the very fact that they came uninvited made the Indians unaware of this. It is not enough that the one who brings the Gospel should be disinterested in his motives, but that those among whom he works be also fully aware of his disinterestedness. Among a people who in the past have so often been exploited, this is only possible if the initiative is left as far as possible in the hands of those who receive the Gospel.

When the Adventist work in the department of Puno is compared to the Indian work of other Protestant bodies in Peru, the difference in the approach to educational work is immediately apparent. The Methodists started schools, but kept them in the hands of professional mission workers, so that the Indians never had a chance to exercise their initiative in this matter. The E.U.S.A. both in the central and the southern Sierra gave the initiative into the hands of the Indians, but restricted the scope of that initiative to church work. In the relatively few instances that the E.U.S.A. undertook educational or social work the control was in every case kept in the hands of the foreign missionary. All three missions, both by word and deed painted for the Indians a picture of God as One who had come to serve, but only the Adventists made it possible for the Indians to share in the social application of the Gospel. Among the mestizos the Adventists adopted the same tactics, but they emphasized the law rather than grace, and for that reason their work in non-Indian areas started much more slowly. Recently they have also stressed grace among the mestizos and the results amply reflect the effect of this change.

CHAPTER XVI

THE CHRISTIAN AND MISSIONARY ALLIANCE IN CHILE

a. The German and Scottish colonists in southern Chile

In the second half of the last century, when German colonists started emigrating to southern Chile to take advantage of the Chilean government's offer of free land, a Baptist preacher called Oscar von Barchwitz, felt God was calling him to go with them. He started preaching around Valparaíso, but then he was asked by the Chilean government to return to Germany to find more colonists¹. The German government was not anxious to lose its citizens and offered no co-operation, but after some difficulties Von Barchwitz managed to collect a group which included three Baptist families. In 1884 he brought this group to the area around Victoria, north of Temuco. In the following year some more Baptist families arrived from Germany and they started holding services in their homes². From 1894 to 1897 these small and widely scattered German settlements were caught up in a movement of religious revival³. Some of the meetings even continued all night and several of the younger generation who had learned to speak Spanish, were converted. These started holding services in Spanish in addition to the German services, and as a result a considerable number of Chileans became interested⁴. The open air baptism of the German young people also attracted the attention of some Scottish Baptists, and in spite of the language barrier contacts with them were made⁵.

In 1896 Henry L. Weiss, a United States citizen of German extraction, and his wife applied to the C.M.A. for missionary work in Chile, but they were refused because the C.M.A. had no work yet in South America and was only sending out missionaries to lands which had not yet been christianized. Weiss and wife still felt they should go and so in March 1897, together with Albert Dawson, they set out in faith⁶. Weiss was a Mennonite and Dawson was a Methodist⁷, but their differences were forgotten in the common purpose of bringing the Gospel

¹ *Salud y Vida*, Organ of the C.M.A. in Chile. Temuco 10 de setiembre 1947.

² Idem. 10 de octubre 1947;

Agnes Graham, *Pioneering with Christ*. Nashville Tenn. 1942. pp. 66 ff.

³ W. Diener, *Medio siglo de testimonio para Cristo*. Temuco 1947 p. 11.

⁴ *50 Aniversario de la convención Bautista. 1908-1958*.

⁵ *Salud y Vida*, Temuco 10 de octubre 1947.

⁶ *Missionary Atlas*, published by the C.M.A. (1950 edition);

Ray B. Clark, *Under the Southern Cross*. Harrisburg Pa. 1938. p. 70.

⁷ Guy A. Bucher's information.

to Chile. At Panama Weiss' money ran out and Dawson lent him what he needed to complete the journey ⁸. They made the last part of the trip on the same boat as William Boomer, a Presbyterian missionary who was returning to Chile after a furlough in the United States. Boomer advised them to start working in southern Chile which was then still a neglected field. Accordingly Weiss and Dawson went straight to Concepción, where they rented a small house and devoted themselves to language study ⁹. Because Weiss spoke German the colonists around Victoria soon heard of his presence and sent a deputation to invite him to come among them. As a result Weiss moved to Victoria, leaving Dawson in Concepción still studying the language and doing colportage work ¹⁰.

Weiss did a fine work among the German colonists, and soon by means of an interpreter he was preaching for the Chileans as well. About the middle of 1898, the C.M.A. Board in New York heard of the work Weiss and Dawson were doing and offered their support ¹¹. This enabled Weiss, together with Dawson and a native worker, to undertake a journey to Valdivia to the south of Temuco ¹². Weiss was a printer ¹³, and towards the end of 1898 he started publishing a weekly paper of a polemical nature called *La Alianza* (The Alliance). The Roman Catholic priests took the editor to court for attacking the religion of the State, and in order to be able to continue publication the name of the magazine had to be changed twice in the next few years, but after 1902 it was able to continue appearing under the same name till 1913 ¹⁴. The priests produced a magazine of their own, and the resulting controversy brought the Evangelical cause much notoriety, but relatively few converts ¹⁵. Much more fruitful were the Bible conventions which Weiss started after he moved to Valdivia in 1899 ¹⁶. Many were converted during these conventions, and hands were laid on the sick ¹⁷.

Weiss was skilled as a carpenter and wherever possible he encouraged the people to build their own chapels, often helping himself in the construction. It is thanks to him that the C.M.A. has many more properties in Chile than elsewhere in South America ¹⁸. Weiss also strove to build up a national ministry. The work among the German colonists proved to be rather disappointing ¹⁹. They were indifferent, but those who had

⁸ Diener, Op. Cit. p. 11.

⁹ Clark, Op. Cit. p. 70.

¹⁰ Diener, Op. Cit. p. 15.

¹¹ Idem;

Missionary Atlas, (C.M.A.) 1950 edition.

¹² Clark, Op. Cit. pp. 70-72.

¹³ Bucher's information.

¹⁴ Clark, Op. Cit. p. 75.

¹⁵ Diener, Op. Cit. pp. 31 f.

¹⁶ *Salud y Vida*, Temuco April 1922.

¹⁷ Diener, Op. Cit. p. 38.

¹⁸ Bucher's information.

¹⁹ C.M.A. *Annual report* for 1902.

been converted were generous in their financial support and made it possible to engage national workers for the fast growing work among the Chileans ²⁰. By 1901 six national preachers were already at work ²¹, and in the same year the first annual conference of pastors was held. This annual conference later appointed an executive committee which supervised the affairs of the churches. Beside the paid workers there was a good number of lay workers and these too contributed greatly to the rapid expansion of the Alliance mission ²².

No story of these early days would be complete without mention of William D. T. McDonald, a Baptist from Scotland, who arrived in Chile in 1888 to set up a school for Scottish settlers to the north of Victoria. The revolution in which Balmaceda was deposed obliged him to close the school, and for some years McDonald worked as a colporteur of the A.B.S., distributing Bibles throughout the length of Chile, even into southern Peru. Finally he returned to southern Chile and came into contact with the work of the C.M.A. ²³. In 1899 when Weiss moved to Valdivia, McDonald was taken on as a worker of the C.M.A. and was put in charge of the Temuco area ²⁴. McDonald was a tireless worker ²⁵, who spared himself no sacrifice for the sake of the Gospel. Yet at the same time he was a man full of inner contradictions ²⁶, and this gave rise to considerable difficulties in his relations with others. He insisted firmly on the application of Baptist principles, and it is not surprising, therefore, that the work around Temuco became more Baptist in character than that around Valdivia ²⁷. A few other Scottish colonists also helped in the work of the mission ²⁸, but McDonald's influence was by far the most decisive. Apart from the Union church started by Trumbull this was the only case in which missionary work among foreigners either in Chile or Peru resulted in the establishment of a church among the nationals. Both in this case and that of Trumbull's ministry, foreigners of very different backgrounds were brought together and maintained their unity at least until the national work had been firmly established.

b. The Baptist division and the further development of the C.M.A.

From the start adult baptism was practised by the Alliance in

²⁰ Idem. 1912-1913.

²¹ Idem. 1901.

²² Diener, Op. Cit. pp. 35-37.

²³ Elizabeth Condell Pacheco, *The Apostle of the Chilean Frontier, William D. T. McDonald, the Story of his Life*. Temuco 1941. pp. 44 f;

Robert C. Moore, *Los Evangélicos en Marcha en América Latina*. Stgo. 1959. p. 72.

²⁴ Arturo Oyarzún, *Reminiscencias históricas de la obra evangélica en Chile*. Valdivia 1921. p. 60.

²⁵ Diener, Op. Cit. p. 26.

²⁶ Moore, Foreword to Elizabeth Pacheco's book *El pastor de la frontera*. Temuco (undated). Moore was a Baptist missionary who later served alongside McDonald. Elizabeth Pacheco was a direct relation of McDonald.

²⁷ Elizabeth Pacheco, *El pastor de la frontera*. p. 45.

²⁸ *Salud y Vida*, Temuco 10 de noviembre 1947.

southern Chile²⁹, but apart from the common desire to preach the Gospel, this was about the only unifying factor in a very heterogeneous group. The Germans and their descendants around Valdivia felt themselves closely knit with Weiss, while the Chileans who preponderated in the Temuco area felt drawn to McDonald. Furthermore there were all kinds of doctrinal differences, and Weiss tried to maintain the unity by avoiding discussions of a controversial nature on matters that he considered to be of secondary importance. In 1899 Weiss left the hall during a convention, because those present insisted on arguing about the doctrine of the Trinity and about whether women should speak in public³⁰. However, the doctrinal arguments continued. McDonald found himself unable to accept the Alliance doctrines about Christ as Healer and Sanctifier³¹. There was also the matter of church administration. Although there is no indication that Weiss ever acted as a dictator, his very work and personality made him in effect a bishop³², with a measure of authority even over the local congregations, and this was quite at variance with McDonald's conception of entirely autonomous churches.

In the early part of 1907 Roth, a German Baptist pastor from Brazil, visited Chile with a view to working there. However, when he found that the majority of the German Baptists in Chile refused to believe in the Holy Spirit as a Person, he abandoned his plan and left Chile. During the visit McDonald spoke to Roth several times and informed him of his intention to separate from the C.M.A., whereupon Roth advised McDonald to send a letter to William Bagby, a Baptist leader in Brazil. This letter appealing for help was read at the first Baptist national convention held in Brazil in June 1907. This letter caused great enthusiasm among the delegates, and Bagby as secretary of the convention was asked to visit the brethren in Chile³³. News of this reached the C.M.A. missionaries in Chile, and when they reproached McDonald for having taken up contact with the Baptists without first informing them, he withdrew from the C.M.A.³⁴. In an effort to prevent the whole work being divided a conference of pastors was held in Valdivia at the beginning of 1908. McDonald insisted that the Alliance mission was

²⁹ Bucher's information.

³⁰ Diener, *Op. Cit.* pp. 37 f.

³¹ Elizabeth Pacheco, *El pastor de la frontera*. p. 54.

³² Bucher's information.

³³ Elizabeth Pacheco, *El pastor de la frontera*. pp. 54 f;
Moore, *Los evangélicos en march en América Latina*. pp. 73 f;
William McDonald, *La Voz Bautista*. 30 de noviembre 1932;
La Voz Bautista of April 1921 carried an editorial article in which McDonald strongly criticized Oyarzún's book *Reminiscencias históricas de la obra evangélica en Chile* which had just appeared for containing many inaccuracies. In particular McDonald denied having written to any Baptist mission at the time in question. Technically McDonald was right in that he wrote to a person and not to a mission, but as McDonald's later article in *La Voz Bautista* makes plain, the substance of Oyarzún's affirmation was quite correct.

³⁴ Oyarzún, *Op. Cit.* p. 71.

only a body of Protestant churches supported by units from different denominations. "Every unit was autonomous according to the administrative methods of the mission and that, therefore, he had the right to ask for help from any missionary group"³⁵. No agreement could be reached, and nearly all the Chilean pastors together with 300 church members sided with McDonald and separated from the Alliance³⁶.

The Alliance in Chile suffered a rude shock, but soon started to recover. An important factor in this recovery was the decision taken by the Executive Committee in 1910 to hold annually two Bible conventions of a week each for the training of lay workers³⁷. In March 1910, A. B. Simpson, the founder of the C.M.A. in the United States, visited Chile and recommended that Weiss move to Santiago together with the printing plant³⁸. Maybe he felt that the move to the atmosphere of a big city would broaden the vision of the literature policy; such was certainly the effect. In 1913 the name of the magazine was changed from *La Verdad* (truth) to *Salud y Vida* and its emphasis shifted from polemics to a positive presentation of the Alliance message. It soon gained a wide circulation, and finally its influence extended well beyond the Chilean frontiers⁴⁰. McDonald's separation did not end the doctrinal strife. In 1912 the leader of the Alliance work in the Argentine adopted some form of universalistic doctrine⁴¹. As a result of his influence Dawson, and at least one other Alliance missionary in Chile, also changed their views and left the ranks of the C.M.A.⁴². In 1914 the conference adopted a doctrinal basis which all workers had to sign⁴³, with the result that some resigned and Weiss had to abandon the work in Santiago and go to Victoria⁴⁴. Apart from causing a few workers to withdraw, the doctrinal troubles do not seem to have hindered the progress of the Alliance directly, while the Pentecostal agitation which was affecting all missions in Chile at this time seems on balance to have helped the C.M.A.⁴⁵.

Unfortunately shortly after this Weiss became ill. He returned to the United States, but died of tuberculosis in May 1915 while he was attending a C.M.A. conference at New York⁴⁶. His passing left a power vacuum in Chile, and a period of confusion and strife followed⁴⁷, which

³⁵ Elizabeth Pacheco, *The Apostle of the Chilean Frontier*. pp. 49 ff.

³⁶ Oyarzún, Op. Cit. p. 71.

³⁷ Diener, Op. Cit. p. 65.

³⁸ Idem.

³⁹ *Salud* means spiritual salvation as well as physical health. This title which carries the meaning of true health and life is, therefore, very apt for the organ of the Alliance which preaches Christ as Healer as well as Saviour.

⁴⁰ Clark, Op. Cit. p. 75.

⁴¹ Diener, Op. Cit. p. 49.

⁴² *C.M.A. Annual Report* for 1912-13

⁴³ Diener, Op. Cit. p. 65.

⁴⁴ *Salud y Vida*, Temuco 10 de agosto 1943

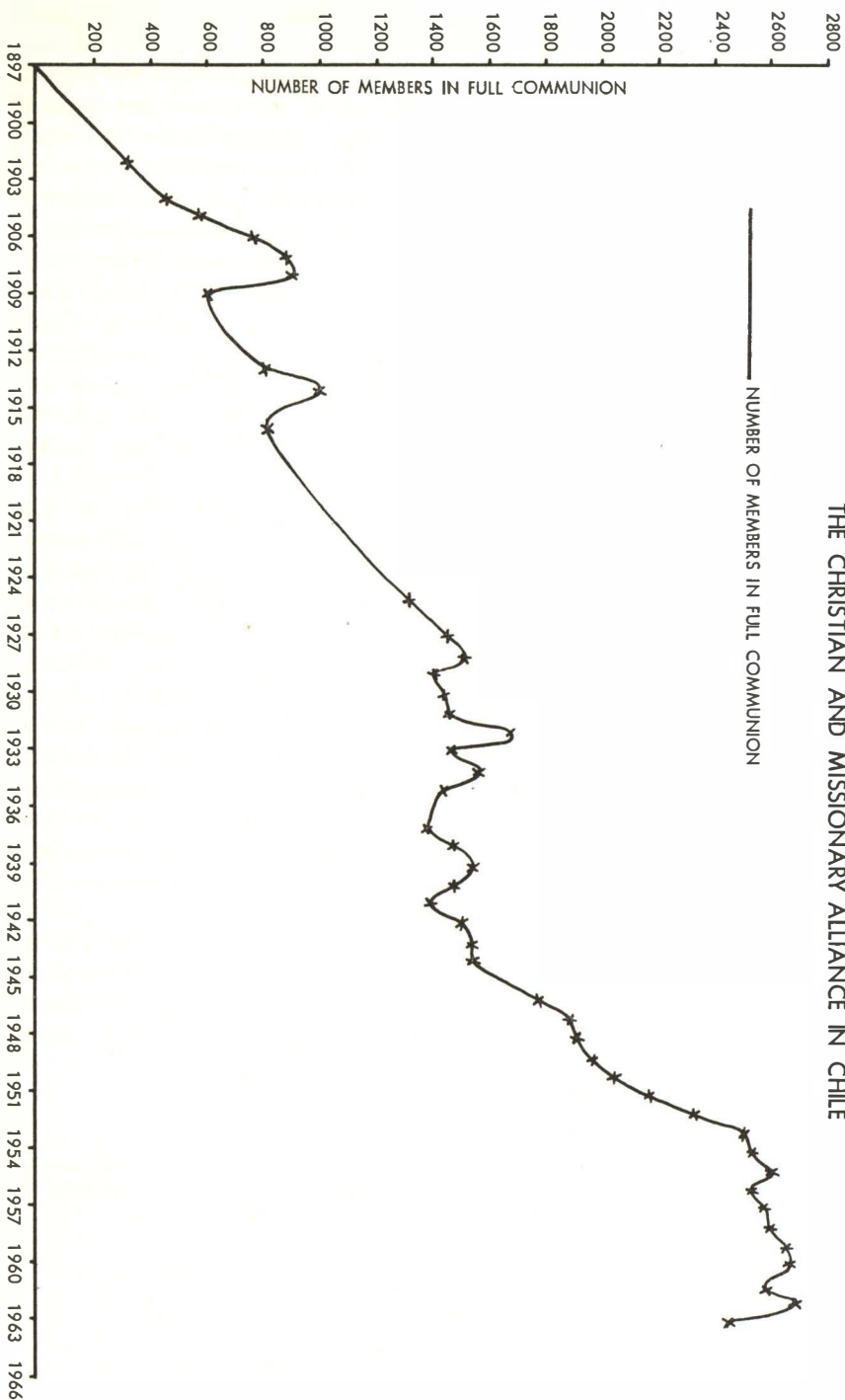
⁴⁵ Diener, Op. Cit. p. 57.

⁴⁶ Clark, Op. Cit. p. 76;

Salud y Vida, Temuco agosto de 1915.

⁴⁷ Diener, Op. Cit. p. 68.

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had an immediate and adverse effect on the development of the work. In 1916 Menno Zook was asked by the Chilean conference to come over from the Argentine and take over the superintendency⁴⁸. Under Zook's leadership the difficulties were gradually overcome and the work in Chile started to advance again⁴⁹. The increasing need of trained leadership led to the formation of a Bible school which held two sessions of six to ten weeks each in 1921 and 1922. The first session was held in Valdivia and the second in Victoria. In 1923 the classes were centralized in Temuco⁵⁰. At first temporary accommodation had to be used, till the present building was finally completed in 1926⁵¹. The number of ordained Chilean pastors rose from three in 1922⁵² to eight in 1925⁵³. A Board deputation from New York visited Chile in the latter year and pointed to the necessity of self-support⁵⁴. This matter had already been mentioned in the annual reports for 1914 and 1917, but the 1918 report pointed out that too much of the native workers' support was still coming from the United States.

After 1925, therefore, the Board subsidy was reduced by 10 % every year⁵⁵, and it was expected that the church would be fully self-supporting by 1936⁵⁶. This subsidy reduction soon put the national pastors' salaries in danger. By the middle of 1926 they were receiving only 70 % of what was due to them⁵⁷, but in spite of this the work continued to advance and the number of national workers increased. In 1925 there were 16 such workers, 8 of whom were ordained⁵⁸, and in 1929 there were 18 Chilean workers, 13 of them ordained⁵⁹. After that the economic crisis created tremendous difficulties. The support given by the United States had to be reduced even more rapidly than had been planned⁶⁰, and the fact that many Chileans could no longer find work affected giving on the field as well. In 1931 the number of Chilean workers dropped to twelve, 10 of whom were ordained⁶¹. But after that the Chileans started showing a "heroic sacrificial spirit"⁶², and the number of national workers dropped no further in spite of the fact that the yearly reductions in the help given from the United States continued. Guy Bucher, one of the missionaries who lived through this period, affirms that the troubles in the church were not brought on by

⁴⁸ *Salud y Vida*, 10 de agosto 1946.

⁴⁹ Diener, Op. Cit. p. 71.

⁵⁰ *Salud y Vida*, 10 de mayo 1947;

LeFevre, The Bible Institute of Temuco Chile. Manuscript in the writer's possession.

⁵¹ Idem, 10 de junio 1947.

⁵² Diener, Op. Cit. p. 90.

⁵³ *C.M.A. Annual Report* for 1925

⁵⁴ Clark, Op. Cit. p. 85.

⁵⁵ *Salud y Vida*, Temuco 10 de abril 1931

⁵⁶ *C.M.A. Annual Report* for 1934.

⁵⁷ *Salud y Vida*, Temuco 10 de abril 1926.

⁵⁸ *C.M.A. Annual Report*, for 1925.

⁵⁹ *C.M.A. Annual Report*, for 1929.

⁶⁰ *Salud y Vida*, Temuco 10 de abril 1931.

⁶¹ *C.M.A. Annual Report*, for 1931.

⁶² Idem, for 1932.

the programme for self-support, but by the change to self-government ⁶³, and the available evidence certainly suggests that by itself the programme for self-support would not have occasioned the difficulties of a spiritual nature that followed.

In 1921 the Board in New York had laid down as a general principle that the self-administration of the native church should be granted in exact proportion to self-support ⁶⁴. Accordingly it was arranged in 1925 that the Executive Committee, which up till then had been composed exclusively of missionaries, should thereafter consist of three missionaries and three national leaders ⁶⁵. It was expected that in 1936 when the church was fully self-supporting, the missionaries would retire and the control of the church would be handed over completely to the nationals ⁶⁶. The change made in 1925 did not, however, bring the expected improvement. The spirit of nationalism which had already been reported in 1922 ⁶⁷, grew stronger after 1925 rather than otherwise. In order to appease these feelings ⁶⁸ and to bind the Chilean work more closely to that of the world-wide Alliance mission by giving the Chilean leaders more occasion to feel their responsibility, it was decided rather suddenly in 1928 to hand over all authority to the nationals. Henceforth the Executive Committee would be composed only of Chileans and the mission would be represented on it by two fraternal observers ⁶⁹. At the same time it was decided that the missionaries would gradually be withdrawn altogether from Chile ⁷⁰.

If the change made in 1925 was not altogether satisfactory, the change of 1928 can only be described as disastrous. Within a year a serious divergence had arisen between Vital Sanhueza, who was president of the committee, and Arturo Oyarzún, who was treasurer and also editor of the magazine *Salud y Vida* ⁷¹. At first both sides professed loyalty to the Alliance ⁷², but when the Board in New York sent a note in July 1929 giving instructions about how the crisis should be resolved, a minority under the leadership of Sanhueza, broke their relations with the C.M.A. and formed the "Iglesia Aliancista Nacional de Sostén y Gobierno propio" (The self-supporting, self-governing, national Alliance church) ⁷³. In January 1931 two of the churches that had seceded,

⁶³ Guy Bucher's recollection.

⁶⁴ *C.M.A. Annual Report*, for 1921.

⁶⁵ *Salud y Vida*, Temuco 10 de febrero 1925;

Idem. 10 de mayo 1925;

Idem. 10 de febrero 1927.

⁶⁶ *C.M.A. Annual Report*, for 1935.

⁶⁷ *Salud y Vida*, Temuco abril 1922.

⁶⁸ Idem. 17 de abril 1929.

⁶⁹ Diener, Op. Cit. pp. 98 ff.

⁷⁰ Idem. p. 106.

⁷¹ Idem. p. 102;

Bucher's information.

⁷² *C.M.A. Annual Report*, for 1928.

⁷³ *Salud y Vida*, Temuco 10 de febrero 1930;

Ignacio Vergara, *El Protestantismo en Chile*. Stgo. 1962 ³. pp. 134 f.

requested to be re-admitted to the parent body⁷⁴, but the division has not been healed, and according to the claim of some of its own members the "Iglesia Aliancista de Sostén y Gobierno propio" now has work in some fifty different places⁷⁵. Not only was there division, but after 1928 the growth of the church was arrested for some 16 years. The Bible School at Temuco was confronted with severe problems in 1934⁷⁶, and remained closed from 1934 to 1941⁷⁷. In 1936 Carl Volstad from Peru was sent on a special mission to Chile and on his advice it was decided to continue giving the Chilean churches some financial assistance⁷⁸. In October of the following year Snead, one of the mission secretaries from New York, visited Chile and found the church in great need of revival⁷⁹, and accordingly it was decided to build up the missionary force there again⁸⁰.

c. The problem of authority in the Chilean Alliance church

All Protestant missions working in Chile were affected at this time by shortages of money and by a surge of nationalistic feeling among the Chileans. As stated above financial stringency did not of itself stop the growth of the Alliance in Chile, and it was not till long after the economic crisis had passed that the work started to advance again. Financial difficulties could, therefore, only have been a contributory factor in the stagnation of the C.M.A. work in Chile, which lasted from 1928 to 1944. The withdrawal of the missionaries probably played a more important part. In 1926 there were sixteen missionaries in Chile⁸¹ and by 1935 only five⁸². At the same time the importance of this factor must not be overestimated, because by 1943 there were only eight missionaries in Chile⁸³ and yet immediately afterwards the work started on a period of advance which lasted for eleven years. During this period of growth the number of missionaries increased to seventeen in 1955⁸⁴, but after that although the number of missionaries climbed to nineteen in 1963⁸⁵, the church remained stagnant. While, therefore, it is true to say that the presence of missionaries continued to be needed and that the decision to start withdrawing them in 1928 was clearly a mistake, there is no direct relation between the number of missionaries at work and the growth of the work.

⁷⁴ *C.M.A. Annual Report*, for 1931.

⁷⁵ Vergara, *Op. Cit.* p. 135.

⁷⁶ *C.M.A. Annual Report*, for 1934.

⁷⁷ *Salud y Vida*, Temuco 10 de mayo 1947.

⁷⁸ *C.M.A. Annual Report*, for 1936.

⁷⁹ *Idem* for 1937.

⁸⁰ Diener, *Op. Cit.* pp. 106 f.

⁸¹ *C.M.A. Annual Report*, for 1926.

⁸² *Idem* for 1935.

⁸³ *Idem* for 1943.

⁸⁴ *Idem* for 1955.

⁸⁵ *Idem* for 1963.

Far more damaging to the Alliance in Chile were the recurring problems connected with the administration of the church. As stated earlier in this chapter Weiss possessed very wide powers. In effect it was he who decided where the workers, both foreign and national, would be stationed, and if need be he could also intervene in the internal affairs of a local congregation. It was a disagreement about this form of administration which was a major factor in the first division in 1908. After Weiss' death his powers were inherited by the Executive Committee⁸⁶, which he had built up around himself during his lifetime. This committee was at that time composed only of foreign missionaries, and yet considerable difficulties ensued. In the absence of a powerful personality such as that of Weiss, the contrast between the almost dictatorial powers which this committee possessed over those outside and the lack of clearly defined authority among the members of the committee itself proved to be too great. Allocations, which were decided at the annual conference, became a real problem⁸⁷. There is no indication that this was so during Weiss' lifetime, nor that the Methodist church in South America, where the bishops possessed similar authority, has been specially troubled by this matter. On such a personal matter as the allocation of a worker, a committee can hardly ever achieve such a unified decision as an individual person, and any feeling of undecidedness in this matter leaves the person being allocated in an unsettled and unhappy frame of mind⁸⁸.

In addition, a situation in which a small group of foreigners decided the allocations of all the Chilean workers could only produce a nationalistic reaction. Accordingly it was decided in 1925 that half of the Executive Committee should be composed of Chileans, but if foreigners who were accustomed to democratic methods had experienced great difficulties inside this committee, is it any wonder that Chileans who had a much more authoritarian background should experience even greater difficulties? It is significant that in 1928 when the mission suddenly decided to turn the Executive Committee entirely over to them, the Chileans were not at all anxious to receive this extra responsibility⁸⁹. If nationalism had really been the basic cause of the problems, then the change made in 1928 should have brought a solution. Instead the problems became worse, so that one must conclude that the root of the trouble lay in the organizational structure of the church. The distinction between democracy within the Executive Committee and authoritarianism outside it provoked a spirit of nationalism when Chileans and foreigners were on opposite sides of the line of demarcation, while the unqualified democracy within the Executive Com-

⁸⁶ Bucher's information.

⁸⁷ Bucher's recollection.

⁸⁸ According to Bucher some even left the annual conference in tears.

⁸⁹ Bucher's recollection;
Diener, *Op. Cit.* p. 101.

mittee tended to stimulate an atmosphere of rivalry there both among the foreigners and the Chileans.

It is very understandable that the constitution of the church was felt to be unworkable⁹⁰. In 1935 an attempt was made to reform it by dividing the whole into districts or circuits, each of which was made responsible for the support of its own pastor⁹¹, but the powers and the function of the Executive Committee were not touched. As no real improvement followed, and as the annual conferences were so overloaded with work as to be times of distress rather than of blessing, a commission was appointed in 1940 to recommend changes⁹². In the course of 1941 these were agreed upon⁹³, and in 1942 the work was divided into two regional conventions, each with its own committee⁹⁴. These regional conventions meet twice a year; once for a spiritual convention and once for a business session. They have exactly the same powers as a Presbytery, and their work is co-ordinated by an annual Synod. The whole organization has thereby been given a Presbyterian basis and consists at all levels of a combination of democratic and authoritarian elements⁹⁵. This new organization was officially accepted at the beginning of 1943 and immediately proved to be beneficial. By 1944 a new spirit of unity was manifest in the work⁹⁶, and although the growth which ensued also occurred among other Protestant missions and was due in the first place to the favourable attitude to Protestantism in Chile at this time, it would be wrong to discount the contribution made towards it by the new organization.

d. The need for a greater adaptability

The centre of the Alliance work in Chile has remained in southern Chile. In 1943 work was started in Concepción, and although work had temporarily been carried on in Santiago in the years 1939 to 1941 by a missionary who had to stay there for health reasons, the Alliance did not definitely establish itself in the capital till 1946, when it was able to take over an empty church and parsonage from the Presbyterians⁹⁷. So far the work has not extended further to the north. An interesting development has taken place in the field of education. In 1952 two schools were started among the Araucanians⁹⁸, and by 1959 this number had risen to eight. They were being run jointly by the mission and the national church, and the teachers who were members of the Alliance

⁹⁰ Clark, *Op. Cit.* p. 85.

⁹¹ *C.M.A. Annual Report* for 1935.

⁹² *Salud y Vida*, Temuco 10 de febrero 1940.

⁹³ *C.M.A. Annual Report* for 1941.

⁹⁴ *Missionary Atlas* (C.M.A.) 1950 edition.

⁹⁵ Bucher's information.

⁹⁶ *C.M.A. Annual Report* for 1944.

⁹⁷ *Salud y Vida*, Temuco 10 de noviembre 1939;

Missionary Atlas, (C.M.A.) 1950 edition.

⁹⁸ *C.M.A. Annual Report* for 1952.

were being paid for their work as teachers by the government⁹⁹. The Bible School at Temuco has continued to function well and has also trained a few young people for other denominations. Up to 1955 the progress of the Alliance was encouraging, but since then it has remained at a standstill. This experience is in fairly sharp contrast with that of other Protestant denominations in Chile and calls for some explanation.

In recent years the Alliance has suffered two divisions. The first occurred in 1940 when Arturo Oyarzún, the pastor of the second Alliance church in Temuco, together with about a hundred members, left the C.M.A. and formed a new church called the "Iglesia Aliancista Nacional"¹⁰⁰. Oyarzún's church had become fully self-supporting in 1937¹⁰¹, and on this basis claimed that the Executive Committee had no right to interfere in its internal affairs. Shortly afterwards internal difficulties did arise and the Executive Committee did intervene, and this led to the split. As in previous divisions the trouble centred on the problem of authority, but as stated above, this matter was largely solved by the reforms which were introduced in the years 1941 to 1943, and the Alliance church entered on a new period of growth. In the period 1957 to 1960 a fresh division took place which involved three national pastors. Two of them were finally dismissed in 1959 because of personal problems¹⁰², and the third was expelled from the church in 1960 because he would not listen to the "warnings and exhortations" of the national brethren¹⁰³. The three pastors have now formed a separate group and are undertaking quite an effective radio work¹⁰⁴.

It is true that in two cases personal problems were involved, but if it were merely this, the affair could never have had an impact on the churches as a whole, as is admitted in the Annual Report for 1959. The basic problem was that these pastors wished to try out new methods of evangelism and of church worship which were inspired by the example of the Pentecostals, and that the Chileans who were leading the Alliance church, did not approve of these new experiments. It was even stated that the three pastors in question had become Pentecostals, but this was not so, either then or now¹⁰⁵. Another interesting aspect of this division is that the demand to expel these pastors from the church did not arise among the missionaries, but among the national leaders; in fact among the younger missionaries there was a willingness to listen to what these three pastors were trying to say.

While it is still too early to draw final conclusions, the writer believes that this last division was different from all the preceding ones in that

⁹⁹ Idem for 1959.

¹⁰⁰ Vergara, Op. Cit. p. 136;
Salud y Vida, Temuco 10 de mayo 1950.

¹⁰¹ *Salud y Vida*, Temuco 10 de febrero 1937.

¹⁰² C.M.A. Annual Report for 1959.

¹⁰³ C.M.A. Annual Report for 1960.

¹⁰⁴ Robert Newman's information.

¹⁰⁵ Idem.

the issue at stake was not primarily that of authority, but of how best to express the Gospel in the Chilean scene. This latest division would indicate, therefore, that a new bottleneck has arisen in the work of the Chilean Alliance. At first progress had been hindered by defects in the church organization and when these were overcome a fresh advance was made, but then the development was halted for the second time by a lack of adaptability. According to the experience of the Methodist churches, the growth in Chile can be expected to be $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 times more rapid than that in Peru, but the C.M.A. church in Chile has only grown $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as quickly as its sister church in Peru and this in spite of the late start and many difficulties in the latter country. Contrary to what most Alliance missionaries believe, it is just possible that the connection with the I.E.P. was more of a help than a hindrance to the C.M.A. in Peru. Ritchie undoubtedly made mistakes but for him the Gospel was ever the message of liberation which demanded the greatest possible adaptation, whereas the doctrinal controversies and polemical attacks on other religious bodies which marked the earlier history of the C.M.A. in Chile, as well as the difficulties about evangelistic methods which have come more recently, would suggest that where the Alliance has worked alone it has too often regarded the Gospel as a viewpoint that had to be imposed on others.

THE BAPTISTS IN CHILE

a. The Baptist convention under McDonald's leadership

In the year 1900 the Chilean government gave McDonald 400 acres of farmland near Freire to the north of Temuco, in compensation for the wages still due to him as a schoolteacher at the time of the revolution against Balmaceda¹. The support derived from this farm enabled McDonald to devote much of his time to the cause of the Gospel². Shortly after the break with the Alliance at the beginning of 1908, William Bagby to whom McDonald had written his disputed letter, arrived in Chile and visited the churches in Temuco and in the area immediately to the north where McDonald was working³. On April 26, 1908 Bagby was present at a rally where members and representatives of twelve churches or groups agreed to form a Baptist convention in Chile⁴. Bagby's reports of what he had seen in Chile encouraged Baptists in the Argentine, Brazil, Mexico and Cuba to send gifts as they were able, but the next few years were nevertheless very difficult for McDonald and his family⁵. In 1908 McDonald started to produce a paper called *La Voz Bautista* (the Baptist Voice) which he continued to edit till 1923⁶, and in 1909 he was made superintendent of the convention in Chile⁷. Then, a year later T.B. Ray, one of the secretaries of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist convention in the United States, visited Chile, and in 1914 his board decided to give a monthly subvention of fifty dollars to McDonald's work⁸.

North from Temuco a group which had separated from Tulio Moran's independent church in Concepción (see chapter VII) joined the Baptist movement⁹, and in Valdivia to the south another group began amid

¹ Elizabeth Condell de Pacheco, *El Pastor de la Frontera, Guillermo Daniel Thompson McDonald, su vida y sus obras*. Temuco (undated) p. 48.

² Agnes Graham, *Pioneering with Christ in Chile*. Nashville Tenn. 1942. p. 66.

³ Elizabeth Pacheco, *Op. Cit.* pp. 54-56.

⁴ Robert Cecil Moore, *Los Evangélicos en marcha en América Latina*. Stgo. 1959. p. 73;

Agnes Graham, *Op. Cit.* pp. 66 f.

⁵ Moore, *Op. Cit.* p. 73;

⁶ Agnes Graham, *Op. Cit.* pp. 89 f.

⁷ Elizabeth Pacheco, *Op. Cit.* p. 56.

⁸ Elizabeth Pacheco, *The Apostle of the Chilean Frontier. William D. T. McDonald, the Story of his Life*. Nashville 1941. p. 67.

⁹ *Idem.* pp. 57-59.

considerable opposition¹⁰, but on the whole growth was slow, so that McDonald became convinced that the support of an organized mission was needed. In spite of his urgent request, the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board was hesitant to start work in Chile till 1917 when they sent out William Earl Davidson and his wife. After a year of language study at Valparaíso the Davidsons settled in Santiago and opened work there¹¹. In 1919 Robert Cecil Moore and his wife arrived to take up work around Concepción¹². In 1920, on Davidson's recommendation McDonald was given the status of missionary by the Foreign Mission Board¹³. In the following year Agnes Graham was designated director of the Baptist college which was founded in Temuco in 1922. At the end of 1921, Joseph Hart and his wife were transferred from the Argentine to Temuco to take charge of the small Bible seminary which McDonald had established there earlier in that year¹⁴.

On the financial side there was some progress. In 1917 McDonald addressed the convention on the need of more self-support, and at his suggestion the envelope system was introduced for taking up members' offerings. As a result the collections in the Chilean churches in 1918 were six times higher than the year before¹⁵. In spite of this in 1920 90% of the support for the pastors was still coming from outside sources¹⁶, the churches were poorly organized¹⁷, the leaders had very little training¹⁸, and the Baptist church possessed as yet no property¹⁹. In order to stimulate the erection of church buildings, the Foreign Mission Board promised to add 5000 pesos to the building fund for every 1000 contributed by the churches²⁰. It was natural that the new missionaries coming in wanted to make other changes also, and this led to considerable tension between them and McDonald. In spite of the fact that McDonald had broken with the C.M.A. because of his wish to uphold Baptist principles, the work since then had been very much in his hands²¹. He had appealed for the workers needed during the annual conventions²² and had arranged for their support with funds that passed through his hands.

The new missionaries now proposed that churches should call their pastors without any outside intervention, and that the church treasurers

¹⁰ Idem. p. 63.

¹¹ Idem. pp. 70 f.

¹² Moore, Op. Cit. p. 74.

¹³ Agnes Graham, Op. Cit. p. 83.

¹⁴ Elizabeth Pacheco, *El Pastor de la Frontera*. pp. 73 ff;

Agnes Graham, Op. Cit. p. 134;

50 aniversario de la convención Bautista. 1908-1958. Temuco. s.a.

¹⁵ Agnes Graham, Op. Cit. p. 81.

¹⁶ *50 aniversario de la convención Bautista. 1908-1958*.

¹⁷ Moore, *Agnes Graham of Chile*. Nashville.

¹⁸ Agnes Graham, Op. Cit. pp. 85 f.

¹⁹ Moore, *Los Evangélicos en marcha en América Latina*. p. 74.

²⁰ Agnes Graham, Op. Cit. p. 86.

²¹ Elizabeth Pacheco, *El Pastor de la Frontera*, p. 90.

²² Agnes Graham, Op. Cit. pp. 85 f.

should petition the foreign mission direct for any supplementary funds that might be needed. In country districts the itinerant preachers should first apply to the Chilean Baptist convention and then in cases of need to the foreign mission for supplementary support up to an amount equal to that which the local churches were contributing²³. McDonald was by this time 70 years old and found it very difficult to adjust his puritanical ideas²⁴, and the fact that some lady missionaries were taking part in the work was also something he could not accept²⁵. It was arranged that McDonald go on furlough, and while he was away a national pastor was appointed to the church in Temuco²⁶, and his powers of superintendency were handed over to an administrative board. When McDonald returned in 1923²⁷ he found that he was only responsible for a comparatively small area to the south of Temuco²⁸. Not only did he find it difficult to let go of the work with which he had been so intimately connected, but many of the older leaders came to consult him about matters that should have been considered by the new board²⁹.

The tensions which this situation provoked were brought to a climax when a matter of discipline arose which affected a young Baptist preacher who had married one of McDonald's daughters. Personal loyalties and antipathies proved to be stronger than adherence to principle. Those who were already opposed to McDonald accused him of not properly imposing the principles he demanded of others on those of his own family. This party demanded that the preacher should be expelled from the ministry, while McDonald's supporters felt, possibly with some justification, that this was too harsh a measure³⁰. The party which wished to impose discipline had the support of the majority, if not all the North American missionaries, and won. The preacher then retired and formed a second Baptist church in Temuco which at first was not linked to the Chilean Baptist convention. By 1932 this church was again accepted as a member of the convention, but it continued to harbour rather bitter feelings towards the foreign missionaries³¹. McDonald himself did not leave the Baptist convention, but visited his family in the other camp. Also he helped the other party with preaching, and this gave rise to the misunderstanding that he actually supported the division³². The following year McDonald withdrew from the work and was given a pension³³. He died in 1939³⁴. Had it not been for

²³ Idem.

²⁴ Elizabeth Pacheco, *El Pastor de la Frontera*. p. 90.

²⁵ H. C. McConnell's information.

²⁶ Agnes Graham, Op. Cit. p. 83.

²⁷ Elizabeth Pacheco, *The Apostle of the Chilean Frontier*. p. 84.

²⁸ Agnes Graham, Op. Cit. p. 83.

²⁹ Elizabeth Pacheco, *El Pastor de la Frontera*. p. 90.

³⁰ Timoteo Gatica's recollection and information.

³¹ J. Frank Mitchell's information.

³² Gatica's information.

³³ Elizabeth Pacheco, *El Pastor de la Frontera*. pp. 90 f.

³⁴ Elizabeth Pacheco, *The Apostle of the Chilean Frontier*. p. 84.

his initiative, it is very doubtful whether the Southern Baptist convention would have started work so early in Chile, and the Baptist church is greatly indebted to him for his perseverance in a time of difficulty, but he bound the work too much to his own person, and this made the period from 1922 to 1936 one of rather painful adjustment.

b. The further development of the Baptist church in Chile

The new lists prepared in 1923 at the time that many of the churches were being reorganized, showed that the total membership had decreased by five hundred. The reason for this was that many of the churches and groups had grown up in lumber districts and in the camps of workmen who were laying the railway line to the south. Upon completion of these undertakings the churches connected with them disappeared ³⁵, but the poor organization prevented the new situation from being properly reflected in the yearly statistics. A time of consolidation followed while the leadership was being transferred from a personal to a collective basis. The church was very largely dependent on outside funds and these were distributed by the administrative committee, which still consisted entirely of foreign missionaries. At the beginning of 1926 the declining income in the United States and the mounting debts of the Foreign Mission Board there, provoked a severe financial crisis in Chile. It was no longer possible for the mission to contribute 5000 pesos to the building fund for every thousand given by the national churches ³⁶. The seminary in Temuco had to be closed ³⁷, and it seemed inevitable that some of the national pastors would have to be dismissed.

At the convention which met in January 1926 the pastors presented the mission with an ultimatum stating that if any pastors were dismissed they would all consider themselves dismissed. These pastors also demanded that "in common justice" nationals should be given participation in the administration of funds, and they also asked that a representative of the Foreign Mission Board visit them and tell them exactly what the financial position was ³⁸. It is not known whether such a visit was made, but nationals were taken on to the administrative committee ³⁹, and in spite of the fact that the funds from the United States continued to decrease until 1934 ⁴⁰, the church in Chile started to grow. In 1933 the national workers were paid off by the mission ⁴¹. As their support came largely from the mission they felt that they had a claim on the mission as their employer, and this move was intended to make the churches and the Chilean convention entirely responsible for

³⁵ Agnes Graham, *Op. Cit.* p. 84.

³⁶ *Idem.* pp. 85 f.

³⁷ *Idem.* pp. 135 f.

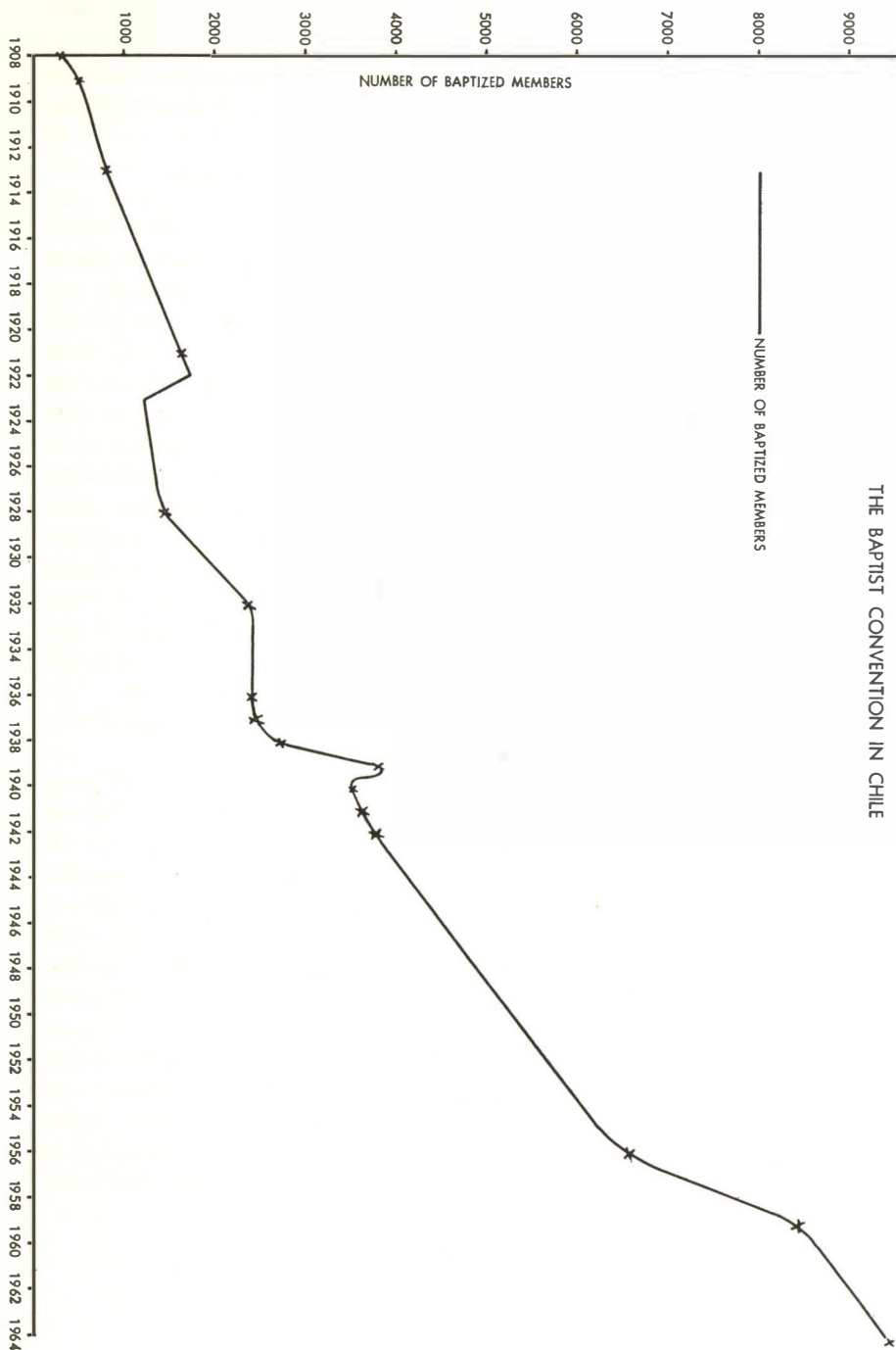
³⁸ Agnes Graham, *Op. Cit.* p. 87 f.

³⁹ Mitchell's information.

⁴⁰ Agnes Graham, *Op. Cit.* p. 88.

⁴¹ Mitchell's information.

THE BAPTIST CONVENTION IN CHILE



them. But as this was not yet really possible, some of the missionaries started making gifts to the national workers privately, and in at least one case such gifts were made from mission funds.

In August 1936 Charles Maddry and W. C. Taylor of the Foreign Mission Board arrived in Chile to clarify this situation. The Administrative Board was renamed the Co-operative Board. Henceforth it would be the link between the mission and the Chilean Baptist convention, and mission money would no longer be handled privately, but would all be channeled through this Co-operative Board. This Board would further seek to stimulate the churches in the fulfilment of their evangelistic and other tasks and would mediate in disputes, but in theory it would have no legislative power. The fact of handling all the monies coming in from outside meant, however, that it would have very real power. Five of its members would be laymen elected by the Chilean Baptist convention, one from each of its four districts, and the four other members would be missionaries⁴². In this way nationals and missionaries were bound together in a common enterprise, without the national having to fear that he would be outvoted. This Board has been a real success, and the writer believes that it is largely responsible for the relative lack of nationalistic feelings in the Chilean Baptist movement⁴³. Later other boards have been created to attend to some particular aspect of the church's life. In 1943, for instance, a board was set up to administer a rotating fund for the erection of church buildings⁴⁴.

The installation of the Co-operative Board marked the final change-over from a personal to a collective administration of the church's affairs and was followed by a rapid and sustained growth. There was one discordant note, but as it had its roots in the old situation and not in the new, it had no lasting effect on the main church's development. In order that Ismael Neveu could continue in the ministry, Hart made mission funds available to him either in the year 1936 or perhaps a little earlier for the purchase of a small farm. As the foreign mission had been recognized as a legal holding body in Chile since 1921⁴⁵, Neveu understood that this property was a personal present and had it registered in his own name. Later when the mission claimed it back he refused to give it up, and the problem was further complicated by Hart's transference to Antofagasta in 1936, which Neveu felt to be a disciplinary measure against his missionary friend⁴⁶. The whole problem was discussed at the convention held in January 1937, and although most of the Chileans were satisfied with the explanations given⁴⁷,

⁴² Agnes Graham, *Op. Cit.* pp. 88 f.

⁴³ Donald Waddell and William Strong's observation.

⁴⁴ *50 aniversario de la convención Bautista 1908-1958*.

⁴⁵ McConnell's information.

⁴⁶ Gatica's information.

⁴⁷ *La Voz Bautista*, febrero de 1937.

Neveu in particular was not and broke his relations with the Chilean Baptist convention.

Shortly afterwards Neveu contacted members of the Second Church in Temuco, who still had an anti-missionary spirit, and together with them he formed the "Iglesia Bautista Nacional" (the National Baptist Church) ⁴⁸. Around the year 1940 seven churches withdrew from the convention, and they have been able to multiply themselves so that to-day there are about 25 National Baptist churches in existence ⁴⁹. In 1955 a small majority of the Second Church in Temuco decided to return to the convention, and relationships between the National Baptist churches and the Chilean Baptist convention are improving ⁵⁰, but at present this is the only Baptist division which originated in Chile which has not fully healed. Hart started to work in Antofagasta as an independent mission, but to-day the work is part of the Chilean Baptist convention ⁵¹. There have been several other splits caused by disciplinary problems connected with money, marriage and attempts at promoting a party spirit, but in each case the two sides have remained in the convention from the start or come back to it later. The money handled by the Co-operative Board in benefit of those churches which are members of the convention undoubtedly acts as a magnet, but the chief reason for this remarkable feature of the Baptist work is that final authority resides with a majority in the congregation and that as the membership changes old quarrels are forgotten, or at least are not allowed to continue playing a decisive role ⁵².

The financial crisis of 1926 obliged Hart to give all his time to the Temuco college, with the result that the Bible seminary which had functioned under his care since 1922 was closed. In the years which followed each missionary began to train assistant pastors in his own district ⁵³, but it soon became apparent that this system could not properly meet the need. In 1931 eight pupils at the Temuco College felt themselves called to the ministry, but as the Baptist school had as yet no secondary department, they had to be passed on to secular institutions for their further education and there they lost their earlier vision ⁵⁴. In the years from 1934 to 1939 Moore and another missionary trained four students for the ministry in connection with the Bible department of the Temuco College, but Maddry during his visit in 1936 became convinced that a full theological seminary was needed. He saw in Honorio Espinoza, a university graduate who had joined the Baptist church during the time of his studies ⁵⁵, material for the future leader-

⁴⁸ Gatica's recollection and information;
Vergara, *Op. Cit.* p. 153.

⁴⁹ McConnell's information.

⁵⁰ *Idem.*

⁵¹ Mitchell's information.

⁵² McConnell's information.

⁵³ Agnes Graham, *Op. Cit.* pp. 134-136.

⁵⁴ *Idem.* p. 125.

⁵⁵ Vergara, *Op. Cit.* p. 95.

ship of this seminary, and arranged that Espinoza receive further training at the Southern Baptist seminary in the United States. The Theological Seminary started in April 1939 in Santiago with three students. At first missionaries were in charge of it, but later Espinoza took over as president ⁵⁶.

In 1963 the Baptists in Chile had 62 full-time pastors to attend to 100 organized churches. Of these pastors 42 had been trained at the seminary, 8 had received some training and the remaining 12 had no training at all ⁵⁷. The shortage of pastors means that in some cases two or even three churches have to share one pastor and that in other cases the churches are being led by laymen. Churches without pastors tend to disintegrate, and it is in the rural areas, where the shortage of pastors is greatest, that the Baptists are making the least progress ⁵⁸. The shortage of pastors is due in the first place to the fact that especially in the rural areas the churches are not yet fully self-supporting and secondly because many students who go to the Theological Seminary do not later enter the ministry ⁵⁹. The Baptists are making the most rapid progress among the middle class groups to be found in the suburbs of the larger cities. There are now eight Baptist churches in Temuco ⁶⁰, and no less than seventeen in Santiago ⁶¹.

In addition to the 100 organized churches the Baptists have at least 100 preaching points in charge of laymen. Most of the churches now functioning in the bigger cities were started as such preaching points. The first initiative for the establishment of institutes for the training of lay workers was taken at the time of Maddry's visit in 1936 ⁶², and there are at present five such institutes offering a total of sixteen courses of twenty hours each ⁶³. Mention must also be made of the rural schools that the Baptists have opened. The Southern Baptist principle of strict separation of Church and State has prevented the mission from accepting any State subsidy for the schools with which it is connected. The result is that most of the rural schools are now being run privately ⁶⁴. In some cases chapels are lent during the week as school rooms, but in no case do the teachers act as pastors of churches, although they may help with some of the preaching ⁶⁵. The absence of mission control over the privately run schools has in a few cases led to a lack of discipline in their administration. One extreme case came to light in November 1964 in which someone who had been a Baptist pastor, but

⁵⁶ Agnes Graham, Op. Cit. pp. 137 f.

⁵⁷ Douglas Webster, *Patterns of Part-Time Ministry in some Churches in South America*. Lon. 1963. pp. 25 f.

⁵⁸ Gatica's information.

⁵⁹ Strong's information.

⁶⁰ Sanchez's information.

⁶¹ Gatica's information.

⁶² *La Voz Bautista*, octubre de 1936.

⁶³ Webster, Op. Cit. pp. 25 f.

⁶⁴ *50 aniversario de la convención Bautista, 1908-1958*.

⁶⁵ Mitchell's information.

had left the church the year before, was found to be drawing government subsidy for sixteen schools, most of which existed only on paper. The Baptist church carried no responsibility for this situation, but it is difficult for the general public to understand the details of such a case, and a rather negative impression was unfortunately given.

c. Three special features of the Baptist movement in Chile

Like every Protestant church in Chile, except for the Anglicans, the Baptists have had divisions. In fact, they have had more splits than most of the other Protestant churches, the Pentecostals excepted, but only the Baptists have found the way to heal the majority of their divisions. The result is that although churches have been subdivided, in the end the spirit of unity has been maintained and the work of the church has been extended. To a considerable extent it is true to say that in Chile the Baptists have multiplied by division, and in this respect they resemble the Pentecostals, but differ from the Alliance which has been clearly more harmed than helped by its divisions⁶⁶. The very loose bond within the Chilean Baptist convention has facilitated the reunion of Baptist churches and groups, but does not offer an adequate explanation of why divisions should have been helpful to the Baptists, because the other group which on balance has profited from its divisions, namely the Pentecostals, has a definitely authoritarian church structure.

The second unusual aspect of the Baptist work in Chile is that it has been very little affected by the infiltration of Pentecostalism. The reason for this is that the autonomy of the local church allows for very wide variations in church practice and permits all kinds of experiments. As one Baptist leader expressed it succinctly: "We accept a bit of shouting"⁶⁷. It is surely significant that whereas the C.M.A. divisions in Chile are often related to matters of doctrine, the Baptist divisions mostly revolve around matters of discipline. The Chilean is a Latin, but possibly because of the infusion of European blood, he also has a puritanical streak in him. These elements in his character continue in fruitful tension, and as a result problems of discipline are very relevant to his daily life; something that cannot be said about questions of doctrine or denominationalism. The great freedom of expression which exists among the Baptists and Pentecostals allows their divisions to centre on matters that are vitally relevant to daily life, whereas a church like the Alliance which is doctrinally much less open than the Baptists or the Pentecostals⁶⁸ forces its divisions to take place on issues which may be very important elsewhere, but are of not nearly the same concern to the ordinary Chilean.

⁶⁶ Guy Bucher's opinion, with which the writer fully agrees.

⁶⁷ H. C. McConnell.

⁶⁸ This is the opinion of competent observers both in and outside the Baptist movement.

Thirdly, the Baptist church in Chile is unique among the Protestant churches in Peru and Chile in regard to the role that money has played in its growth. It has gradually become a dogma with missionary thinkers that mission subsidies stultify the growth of young churches⁶⁹, encourage an anti-missionary spirit⁷⁰ and undermine the nationals' sense of responsibility. Yet outside observers are agreed that the growth of the Baptist work is due to the fact that it has been more heavily subsidized than any other Protestant church in Chile⁷¹. As stated above, there is surprisingly little nationalistic feeling among the Baptists, and although for many years it did seem that the nationals' sense of responsibility was not developing properly, the last ten years have seen a most heartening change⁷². The greater part of the needed support is now coming from the Chileans themselves⁷³, and some of the churches in the suburban areas are self-supporting right from their inception⁷⁴. It would seem at first sight that the Baptist church in Chile is the most downright denial of indigenous principles imaginable, but certain qualifications need to be added.

In the first place the Baptists have been more successful in prosperous suburban districts than in rural areas, whereas the missions which most strongly adhere to indigenous principles have worked mostly among the poor sections of the population. It would seem, therefore, that mission subsidies are less dangerous among people who already have some money, than among those who live in poverty. Secondly, the Baptists have handled their money in a very different way from the missions which underline the importance of indigenous principles. In 1948 the Baptists in Chile adopted a plan for subsidy reductions. The first plan failed, but since then another one has been worked out. Every new church is offered a certain amount as a subsidy, which is then gradually reduced to nothing over a period of ten to fifteen years. The fear that the available pastors would all stampede to the new churches has not materialized, and instead has come a growing sense of responsibility⁷⁵. The great mistake of the usual subsidy reduction schemes is that they treat all churches alike, whether they have already existed for ten or more years or are just starting their life. The experience of the Baptists makes it plain that very new churches need more help than those which are slightly older.

The other great difference in financial administration lies in the role played by the Co-operative Board. Chileans have a majority vote in this body and this has had the effect of restraining negative nationalistic feelings, but there is something else about this Board which is

⁶⁹ Eric S. Fife & Arthur F. Glasser, *Missions in Crisis*. Lon. 1962. p. 83.

⁷⁰ Melvin Hodges, *The Indigenous Church*. Springfield Missouri. 1953. p. 69.

⁷¹ Waddell and Strong's information.

⁷² Gatica's information.

⁷³ *50 aniversario de la convención Bautista 1908-1958*.

⁷⁴ Mitchell's information.

⁷⁵ Idem.

perhaps even more remarkable. Missions to-day are giving subsidies with the idea of abolishing them as soon as possible, but the Co-operative Board is working on the basis that it will have to increase its help. True, the subsidies to existing churches are decreasing all the time, but the number of new churches eligible for subsidy has increased so sharply that the Southern Baptist Mission Board has been obliged to pay more in cash and not less ⁷⁶. The Co-operative Board is, therefore, not some ingenious device by which the foreigners can pass on the sacrifices that have to be made as quickly as possible to the nationals, but an instrument in which the nationals and the foreigners are linked together in a combined, increasing effort. This arrangement has been possible only because of the remarkable generosity of the Southern Baptist churches in the United States, and clearly cannot be continued indefinitely. Trouble lies ahead, but there is no indication that the Chileans wish this arrangement to continue for ever, and the coming problems should, therefore, not be insuperable.

A comparison of the Baptist work in Chile with that of the I.E.P. in Peru shows at once the role that mission subsidies have played. Such a comparison is legitimate because in both cases the pastors are considered to be one among equals in their congregations ⁷⁷ and great emphasis is laid upon democratic principles in the government of the local church. Just as in Peru, the pastors in Chile sometimes find it difficult to establish themselves in a church. A pastor sometimes fails in his first charge, but makes a success of his second or even third pastorate ⁷⁸. Because, however, money is available to support a pastor from the very beginning of a particular congregation's existence, the members become accustomed to having a pastor while their ideas are still pliable, and learn how to respect him even though his position is not hedged about with special privileges. Once a church has governed itself for a number of years without a pastor, only a man with outstanding qualities can manage to establish himself. The development of the work in the rural areas of Chile has followed the same general pattern as in Peru. Pastors are scarce because the people are poor and as a result initial growth has been followed by stagnation. The conclusion must be that in Peru and Chile pastors are from the start essential for democratically governed churches, if later stagnation is to be avoided. Also that pastors cannot be established in anything like adequate numbers without money being available. Either the members of a nascent church must themselves be reasonably prosperous or the mission must be prepared to give a subsidy till the church has built up its strength.

⁷⁶ Idem.

⁷⁷ Gatica's information.

⁷⁸ Idem.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PILGRIM HOLINESS AND NAZARENE CHURCHES IN PERU

a. The background of these two churches

As related briefly in the fifth chapter, John Wesley opposed the belief that Christian perfection could only be attained in the life to come, and preached that holiness could be appropriated by faith during this life in the same way as the other fruits of Christ's death, such as the forgiveness of sins. He believed that sanctification was both an instantaneous experience and a gradual process¹, but in the course of time the majority of the Methodists came to emphasize the latter and to push the former to one side. The result was that towards the end of the last century a series of Holiness sects sprang up, especially in the United States, which emphasized that sanctification was an instantaneous experience, separate and subsequent to that of conversion². Some of these Holiness sects connected this experience of entire sanctification with that of the baptism of the Holy Spirit and adopted the name "Pentecostal". While Wesley connected the work of sanctification with that of the Spirit in a general way³, as far as the writer knows he never made any pronouncement about the baptism of the Spirit. These Holiness sects, therefore, formed a link between the majority of the present day Pentecostal churches and John Wesley.

The multiplicity of the Holiness sects in the United States was due less to differences of doctrine than to the enormous distances within that subcontinent, and many mergers followed. The church of the Nazarene, which has its headquarters in Kansas City, is the largest of these bodies and has been built up by no less than 15 mergers⁴. The Holiness church of California which was a very small group, joined the Pilgrim Holiness church in 1946⁵. These Holiness churches have been influenced in one important respect by their origin as splinter groups. They rejected the episcopal structure of the M.E. church from which they largely sprang, and adopted a more Presbyterian form of church government. The Pentecostal groups which eventually divided off from the Holiness churches became even more democratic and adopted something resembling a Congregational structure. The indigenous Pentecostal churches in

¹ Harald Lindström, *Wesley and Sanctification*. Lon. 1956³. pp. 133 f.

² Idem. p. 123.

³ Idem. p. 83.

⁴ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Lon. 1963 edition XVI. p. 177.

⁵ *Juventud en marcha*, Chiclayo, enero febrero 1953.

Chile are exceptional in that they did not spring from the Holiness movement, but originated direct from the M.E. church and have maintained an authoritarian form of church government, and in many cases an episcopate as well.

These Holiness sects which in the 1890s identified the experience of entire sanctification with that of the baptism of the Spirit must not be confused with the later Pentecostals. Some of them may have used the name Pentecostal, but in keeping with Wesley's general teaching about conversion they believed that the sign for having received the baptism of the Spirit lay in a transformed life. During the first few years of this century the phenomenon of speaking in tongues began to manifest itself among several of the Holiness sects⁶ and gradually the name Pentecostal became attached to those groups which believed that the sign of the baptism of the Spirit lay not in the first place in a morally changed life, but in the manifestation of the gifts of the Spirit, particularly that of tongues. In 1919 the Nazarene church dropped the word Pentecostal from its name so as to avoid confusion on this score⁷. The result is that the two Holiness churches under consideration came to adopt a half-way position towards Pentecostalism. They continued to lay a greater emphasis on the baptism of the Spirit as a separate experience than a movement such as the C.M.A., but in contrast to the Pentecostal movements they discouraged the public manifestation of the gifts of the Spirit. Through some curious coincidence both the Nazarenes and the Pilgrim Holiness Church started work in the same area in northern Peru, but as far as is known neither of them tried to establish work in Chile.

b. The development of the Pilgrim Holiness Church in Peru

In November 1903 Willis and Martha Brand of the Holiness Church of California, accompanied by Frank Hall, a colporteur, arrived in Callao⁸. In January 1904 they moved on to Chiclayo, which was then a town of 17,000 inhabitants destitute of any form of spiritual help except for the services of one Roman Catholic priest. Hall tried to establish work in Cajamarca but his health broke down and he returned to the United States⁹. At the same time Bruce and Nellie Greer went to Chiclayo to reinforce the Brands. A work was established, but the Brands returned to the United States in 1911 and the Greers in 1914¹⁰. There was as yet no freedom of worship and progress was not easy, but Isabel Baker who arrived in Peru in 1914 was able to overcome preju-

⁶ W. J. Hollenweger's information.

⁷ Elmer. F. Clark, *The Small Sects in America*. Nashville Tenn. 1949². pp. 74 f.

⁸ The Pilgrim Holiness Church. Unsigned, undated manuscript in Miss Greer's possession in Chiclayo;
John Ritchie, *Apuntes para la historia del movimiento evangélico en el Perú durante el primer siglo de la República*. Manuscript in possession of the E.U.S.A. Lon.

⁹ *Juventud en Marcha*, enero febrero 1953.

¹⁰ Ritchie's notes in the possession of Herbert Money in Lima.

dice through her work as a nurse. She later married Melchior Vasquez, one of the Peruvian converts, and together they organized the believers in Chiclayo into the first Holiness church in Peru in April 1919. In 1922 Vasquez undertook a trip to the United States to appeal for building funds and in April 1924 a mixed primary school was opened in Chiclayo¹¹. By 1928 several self-supporting churches had been established around Chiclayo, but the work was not extending itself outside the province¹². Isabel Vasquez then made a trip to the United States to appeal for more missionaries and as a result James Spencer and his wife were sent to Peru.

In 1932 James Adams, the president of the Holiness Church of California, visited Peru and organized the churches into a Peruvian district. So as to be able to concentrate more attention on the training of national workers, Spencer closed the primary school in 1934 and after that held a yearly Bible school which consisted of two months of study followed by one month of practical evangelistic work¹³. About a year later the self-supporting churches around Chiclayo agreed to give a tenth of their income to support a worker who would go to a new area¹⁴. Afterwards a second worker was added and in this way a work has been built up in the departments of Libertad and Ancash¹⁵. In 1941 the first vacation Bible school for children was held in Chiclayo¹⁶. During the long school holidays the children are kept busy with hand-work, painting, reading, etc. and each day they also receive some instruction in the Bible. This example has been followed by many churches also of other denominations in Peru. In 1943 the Bible crusade was initiated in Chiclayo. This method of evangelization was first tried out by the Holiness churches in Mexico and has proved to be so successful that several other churches and missions in Peru have also adopted it. Lay workers give a certain period of time to making house to house visits, selling Bibles and other books and speaking to the people about the Gospel. These workers receive no pay and have to pray for their daily bread and travelling expenses¹⁷.

In 1946 when the Holiness church of California merged with the Pilgrim Holiness church in the United States, the name of the church in Peru was changed to "Iglesia de los Peregrinos" (church of the Pilgrims). At this time the work in the inland areas was being supported, half by funds from the coastal churches and half by funds from the United States¹⁸. Since then progress has been made in the matter of self-support, but the Peruvian district does still receive some subsidy

¹¹ *Juventud en Marcha*, enero febrero 1953.

¹² *Idem*, enero febrero 1943.

¹³ The Pilgrim Holiness Church, Manuscript in Miss Greer's possession.

¹⁴ *Peruvian Tidings*, Nov. 1946.

¹⁵ *Juventud en Marcha*, enero febrero 1943.

¹⁶ *El Peregrino Evangélico*, Chiclayo, febrero 1964.

¹⁷ *South America*, (Organ of the E.U.S.A.) Lon. April- June 1946. p. 47.

¹⁸ *Peruvian Tidings*, Nov. 1946.

from the United States¹⁹. In 1948, after having worked in Peru for twenty years, the Spencers returned home, and Coleman G. Avery and his wife were sent out from the United States to superintend the work²⁰. The Averys are not responsible to the United States, but to the superintendent for South America, F. H. Soltero, who is a Mexican. In any problems that have arisen, the Peruvians have where necessary been able to refer them to a Latin, and this has helped considerably in restraining the growth of nationalistic sentiment²¹. The fact that Avery is the only foreign male missionary of the Pilgrim Holiness church in Peru has also helped to cement the excellent relations between the nationals and himself.

In 1964 the membership in Peru stood at 1433, there were 23 pastors and 50 lay workers for 19 organized and 33 unorganized churches, and the whole stood under the direction of a District Assembly. This assembly consisted of all the pastors and deaconesses and one delegate from every church with less than 50 members. Churches with more members have the right to send two delegates. This assembly elects a District Council which attends to the daily affairs and has further the very important responsibility of appointing pastors to the various churches and of approving or not lay workers recommended to it by the pastors. Avery, as superintendent appointed by the church in the United States is ex officio member of the District Council²², but his actions are subject to the majority vote of that council. In this way the Pilgrim Holiness church combines democratic with authoritarian elements in its church government rather in the same way as the Adventists do. Relations in the church, according to the unanimous opinion of outside observers, are unusually good. The attractive personalities of the leaders, both national and foreign, obviously help in smoothing over difficulties, but the writer is convinced that the organization and internal arrangements of this church play a decisive role in this happy state of affairs.

c. The Church of the Nazarene in Peru

Roger and Mary Winans were the first representatives of the Nazarene church to go to Peru. In November 1914 they established themselves in Pacasmayo, a small coastal town 50 miles to the south of Chiclayo. Because the General Board of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene was at that time unwilling to sponsor missionary work in Peru, they had to support themselves for the first fourteen months by giving English classes. Then Winans worked as a colporteur for the B.F.B.S. till early in 1917 when news came that the Nazarene church

¹⁹ Coleman Avery's information.

²⁰ *El Peregrino Evangélico*, febrero 1964.

²¹ Torgrimson's information.

²² Avery's information.

had decided to undertake work in Peru after all and had appointed Roger and Mary Winans as their first missionaries²³. Winans was able to hand his Bible Society responsibilities over to a successor almost immediately and started Nazarene services in Pacasmayo in March. The following year he was asked to take over the mission work at Monsefú, a village 10 miles from Chiclayo noted for its drinking houses and haunts of ill fame²⁴. Albert Stevens and his wife, of the Gospel Mission Alliance in the United States²⁵, had been working there since 1907 as independent missionaries²⁶. They had set very strict standards and had only allowed those Peruvians whose lives measured up to those standards to take part in evangelism. In a place where every family had tremendous problems, it was not realistic to impose rigid rules, and in spite of the Stevens' faithful efforts the success achieved was only moderate. Now because of ill health and insufficient income they wished to retire from Peru, and Winans arranged that the Nazarene church buy the property from them²⁷.

In September 1918, just before Winans could move to Monsefú, his wife, Mary, died. Two new missionaries, Esther Carsons and Mabel Park had been sent out to Peru in that year, and Winans courageously decided to carry on with the move to Monsefú and to leave the two ladies in charge of the work at Pacasmayo²⁸. In 1919 a primary school was started in Monsefú under the supervision of a Peruvian teacher. As schools were then few and far between in this part of Peru, this formed an important attraction. In the same year the first District Assembly of the Nazarene church in Peru was held in Monsefú. One of the sessions was devoted to a communion service at which 37 Peruvians also partook of the elements and this laid the basis for unity between the foreigners and the nationals and for a joint effort in evangelism²⁹. In the years 1919 and 1920 a member of the Monsefú congregation did colportage work in outlying districts and when a small congregation which had been started by missionaries of another society in the mountain village of Santa Cruz, but had later been abandoned because of financial difficulties, appealed for help, Winans was overjoyed that one of the national converts offered to go and be its pastor³⁰.

In 1919 Winans married Esther Carsons. She started teaching Scrip-

²³ Roger S. Winans, *Gospel over the Andes*. Kansas City 1955. p. 22; Russell V. de Long & Mendell Taylor, *Fifty years of Nazarene Missions*. Kansas City 1955. II p. 227.

²⁴ Herbert Money's information.

²⁵ John Ritchie's notes in Money's possession in Lima.

²⁶ Joseph G. Gould, *Missionary Pioneers*. Kansas City. p. 155.

²⁷ Winans, Op. Cit. p. 27;

De Long & Taylor, Op. Cit. II p. 227.

²⁸ De Long & Taylor, Op. Cit. II pp. 227 & 229.

²⁹ Idem. pp. 229 f;

The impression given by this source is that previously nationals had hardly participated in the communion service. Possibly this was the result of Steven's over-rigid standards of discipline.

³⁰ Winans, Op. Cit. p. 28.

ture to the pupils of the primary school. A Bible department was started and this was continued and extended by David Walworth who arrived at Monsefú in 1921. Later this work became the basis of the Bible School ³¹. At this time the Free Church of Scotland which as related in chapter thirteen had been given the responsibility for northern Peru, agreed to entrust the Nazarenes with a vast area in northern Peru which extended right over the Andes to the headwaters of the Amazon where the savage Aguarunas lived. Because there was now somebody to care for the base at Monsefú and because Winans was being weakened by attacks of malaria which was then very prevalent on the coast it was decided in 1922 that he and his wife should establish a base in the mountains. There they were attacked by a mob of Indians and the American consul arranged that they be given extra protection. The Winans then decided to make use of the help thus given to move right into the country of the Aguarunas for whom Esther had come to feel a special burden ³².

Around the year 1924 the Nazarene mission was affected by a serious shortage of money. Walworth and his wife were left at Monsefú and Roger and Esther Winans stayed in the interior, but all the newer recruits were withdrawn. Walworth concentrated his efforts on the Bible School at Monsefú so as to train national workers who could step in to keep the mission stations going. In the meantime Esther Winans was showing a talent for unravelling the Aguaruna language, which at that time had not yet been reduced to writing. In 1926 she took Winans' two sons home to the United States, but her husband did not dare go with her for fear he would be told that there was not enough money to allow them to return to Peru. Esther returned with her parents who established a small industrial mission in order to come into closer contact with the Aguarunas. In November 1928 Esther died ³³, but nothing could make Williams give up the missionary task. In December 1929 he married Mabel Park and together with the Carsons pressed on with the work ³⁴. In 1940 Winans, realizing that scattered Aguarunas were exposed to social pressures which made it almost impossible for them to maintain their faith, established a village for them with a school. By the time that this intrepid pioneer retired to the United States in 1948 three schools were functioning and he could report that there were 160 Aguaruna converts ³⁵. To-day a village on the upper reaches of the Amazon is called after him.

In 1936 the brothers Baltazar and Andreas Rubio who were working as pastors in Nazarene congregations along the coast, felt that God was calling them to go as missionaries to the Aguarunas. Thanks to the

³¹ Lucille Taylor, *Tribes and Nations from the South*. Kansas City 1960. pp. 29 & 36.

³² De Long & Taylor, *Op. Cit.* II pp. 230-233.

³³ *Idem.* pp. 230-234.

³⁴ Winans, *Op. Cit.* pp. 28 f.

³⁵ De Long & Taylor, *Op. Cit.* II p. 236;
Lucille Taylor, *Op. Cit.* p. 44.

Winans' help they were able to use the language fairly soon. Baltazar Rubio worked for many years among the Aguarunas, and in this way the evangelization of this tribe became a project that affected the whole Nazarene church in Peru. More recently help has also come from the side of the Wycliffe Bible Translators, who are now running fifteen bi-lingual schools in this area ³⁶. The Wycliffe Bible Translators were helped in this by some of the Aguarunas who had been taught to speak Spanish by the Winans. The Nazarenes are continuing their own schools, but use the primers which have been prepared by the Wycliffe Bible Translators and send their teachers to be trained at the Translator's base at Yarinacocha. The Nazarenes now have fifty groups in the jungle ³⁷. Interesting as this work is, it still only forms a very small part of the Nazarene church which has developed mainly along the coast and in the Andean highlands.

The sharp reduction of missionary forces after 1924 did not prevent progress being made. By 1927 ten Peruvian licensed preachers were in charge of all but one of the churches and missions that had been established, and even at Monsefú the work was almost entirely in the hands of the nationals ³⁸. In 1931 fifteen of the nineteen churches and missions were in the charge of Peruvian workers, and progress had been made in the direction of self-support so that some churches were already covering their own expenses ³⁹. However, in 1934 and 1935 the work was shaken by a severe crisis. A personal tragedy in the life of the superintendent led to a lapse in his conduct which affected several of the national workers as well. In addition it seems that the doctrine of sanctification as then being taught tended to encourage self-centredness. Apart from the superintendent, five of the sixteen national workers had to be relieved of their functions ⁴⁰. It is astonishing how little these happenings affected the general development of the work. In part this was due to the efficient direction of C. H. Wyman, who took over the superintendency in 1935, but the major reason lay in the increasing importance of lay leadership in these years. Laymen were trained in an annual eight-day Bible conference ⁴¹, and Wyman started a school for evangelism in which two months of study were followed by about six weeks of field work ⁴².

In the years 1938 and 1939 the missionary staff was again drastically reduced ⁴³, and shortly afterwards membership of the churches declined. The number of national workers also decreased from eighteen in 1939 ⁴⁴

³⁶ Lucille Taylor, Op. Cit. pp. 44 f.

³⁷ Torgrimson's information.

³⁸ *Actas de la novena Asamblea Nazarena*, Monsefú, 3-10 de julio 1927.

³⁹ *Actas de la trigésima Asamblea anual del Distrito misionero Peruano de la Iglesia del Nazareno*, Monsefú, 19-24 de marzo 1931.

⁴⁰ *Actas de la décima séptima Asamblea Nazarena*, Monsefú, 4-11 de agosto 1935.

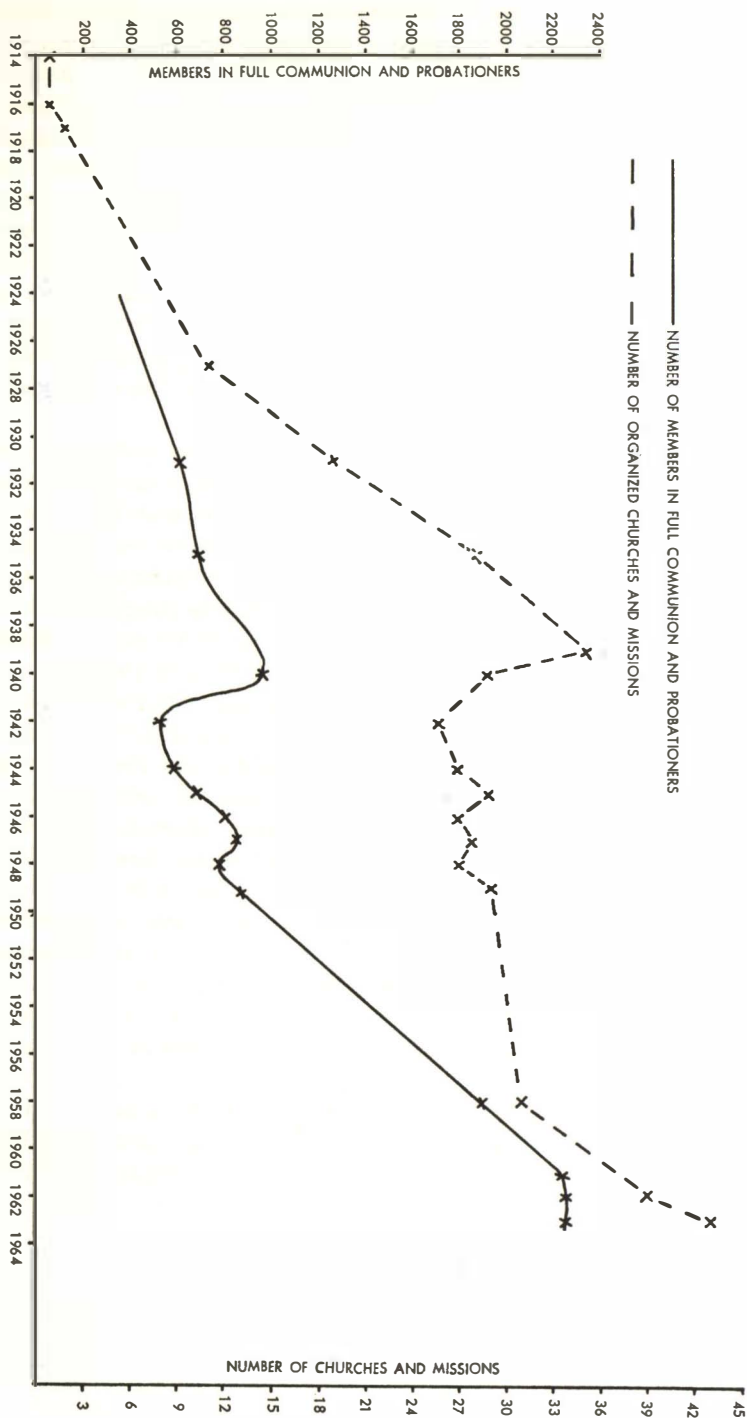
⁴¹ Lucille Taylor, Op. Cit. pp. 45 f.

⁴² De Long & Taylor, Op. Cit. II. pp. 234 f.

⁴³ Idem. p. 235.

⁴⁴ *XXI Asamblea Nazarena*, Chiclayo, 2 de agosto 1939.

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to fifteen in 1942 ⁴⁵, and not one of the six national presbyters who were in office in 1942, still figured as such in the 1944 report ⁴⁶. This second reduction of missionary staff was, therefore, not comparable with the first. In 1924 the missionaries were replaced by an increasing number of national workers whereas after 1939 the number of both types of workers decreased. In the 1920s the problem of nationalism had not yet arisen in the remoter parts of Peru. The mission paid the pastors' salaries, the cost of the Bible School and the expenses of the District Assembly ⁴⁷ and had complete control of the finances. In the District Assembly the absence of national presbyters meant that the foreigners dominated there too. In 1935 there were still no national presbyters and the spirit of nationalism was stirring itself so that in the years following the mission made an attempt to correct this deficiency. By 1939 there were three Peruvian presbyters, and three years later their number had risen to six. It was, however, at this point that they discovered that even when they did form a majority in the District Assembly, they still had no real power because of the foreigners' control of the money.

One of the effects of this situation was to undermine the nationals' sense of responsibility. Winans, who took over the superintendency temporarily after Wyman's departure in 1943, relates that while a few churches were making feeble efforts at self-support, others were doing nothing at all. One congregation put up its own building, but then "just before the work was completed a wise man informed the brethren that they were making a great mistake. The missionaries had lots of money and if only they would get up enough courage to ask for it they could have a nice, well built chapel with a tile roof, free" ⁴⁸. The other effect of this situation was to raise a spirit of revolt and indiscipline among the national leaders. H. V. Miller, the General Superintendent of the Nazarene mission who visited Peru in 1946 ⁴⁹, was confronted by a demand that the control of all the finances be handed over to the nationals ⁵⁰. When Miller countered by outlining a scheme for self-support, several of the national leaders felt offended and retired from the work ⁵¹. Nevertheless Miller's visit was helpful. He arranged that every church make a budget and that the mission only pay the pastors a supplementary sum which would be reduced every year. In 1957 or 1958 the mission finally stopped sending money direct to the pastors and has since made a lump sum available to the District Assembly for distribution. As control of the finances has come increasingly into the hands of the nationals the churches have come to feel their responsi-

⁴⁵ *XXIV Asamblea Nazarena*, Monsefú, 4-9 de agosto 1942.

⁴⁶ *XXV Asamblea Nazarena*, Monsefú, 1-6 de agosto 1944.

⁴⁷ Torgimson's information.

⁴⁸ Winans, *Op. Cit.* pp. 124 f.

⁴⁹ Lucille Taylor, *Op. Cit.* p. 48.

⁵⁰ Torgimson's information.

⁵¹ *XXVIII Asamblea Nazarena*, Monsefú, 30 de Julio-3 de agosto 1947.

bility and to-day 90 % of the pastors' support comes from local sources ⁵².

The other important recommendation which Miller made was that the headquarters of the mission should be moved from Monsefú to Chiclayo ⁵³. At Monsefú the Bible school, the primary and the boarding schools were all concentrated within the mission compound and there was very little contact with the village itself ⁵⁴. The move was made in 1948 and the present excellent Bible school premises were opened in 1950 ⁵⁵. In 1948 a programme of church building was started by which the mission put up the shells of the edifices and the congregation were then given the responsibility of completing the interior of the building and of providing the pastor's salary ⁵⁶. These changes have helped the Peruvian members to feel that they have a share in the work, and from 1948 to 1962 the churches made steady and heartening progress. Until the District is fully self-supporting final authority remains in the hands of the Missionary Council ⁵⁷ and this remaining discrimination in the matter of authority has continued to provoke nationalistic feelings.

In 1957 the District Assembly adopted a five year plan so as to qualify for the status of an indigenous missionary district ⁵⁸. When the year 1962 came, however, the requirements for such a step could not yet be met. The churches were not yet completely self-supporting and the Bible school was still dependent on the mission for 90 % of its funds. Furthermore there were not enough ordained national pastors. The problem was to get the licensed preachers to continue their studies and to take the final exams ⁵⁹. After 1957 the best licensed ministers were hurried through to full ordination, but the younger men who were so treated have since proved to be disappointments ⁶⁰. The result was that in the year 1962 feelings of frustration and nationalism came to a head. Now a renewed effort is being made to achieve full independence, but at a more deliberate pace. However, one of the leading Peruvians confided to a missionary that he feared the day of full independence ⁶¹. The mistake which not only the Nazarene mission, but many other missions have made, is to assume that the nationals want full independence, and then to use independence as a bait to encourage them in their efforts for self-support. What the nationals really want is the continued co-operation of the foreigners on a basis which makes it impossible for those foreigners to apply discrimination.

⁵² Torgimson's information.

⁵³ De Long & Taylor, Op. Cit. II p. 236.

⁵⁴ Money's information and recollection.

⁵⁵ De Long & Taylor, Op. Cit. II p. 236;

Lucille Taylor, Op. Cit. p. 30.

⁵⁶ Felix Calle's information.

⁵⁷ Robert Gray's information.

⁵⁸ Lucille Taylor, Op. Cit. pp. 48 f.

⁵⁹ XXIX *Asamblea Nazarena*, Monsefú, 4-8 de agosto 1948.

⁶⁰ Torgimson's information.

⁶¹ Gray's information.

d. A comparison of the Pilgrim Holiness and Nazarene churches in Peru

These two churches have so much in common that a comparison is almost inevitable. It says much for the character of the people on both sides that outside observers have been unable to detect any traces of rivalry and that relations between the two bodies are excellent. The Nazarenes have the larger church, and they have also had the advantage of considerably greater support. In 1960 there were fifteen Nazarene missionaries in Peru ⁶², as against only four of the Pilgrim Holiness church. In addition the Nazarenes started their expansion beyond the Chiclayo area earlier and have consistently been provided with more money. Measured on the basis of missionary effort, the Pilgrim Holiness church can show a much better return ⁶³, not only in its church work, but even more so in the training of a national ministry.

The reason that the Nazarenes have been relatively less successful in their church work is undoubtedly due to the nationalistic troubles that have hindered their efforts since 1940. Three reasons can be given for the fact that they have had more difficulties in this respect than their Pilgrim Holiness colleagues. The first is that missionaries provoke nationalism more readily when they are in a group than when they work singly. The Nazarene mission has concentrated four or five missionary couples in Chiclayo to staff their Bible school, whereas the Pilgrim Holiness church has only one missionary couple and two single ladies in the town. It is very understandable that the Nazarene missionaries tend to form a block among themselves, but this makes them less approachable. The second and probably more important reason is that the Pilgrim Holiness missionaries receive an allowance which is only just over half of what their Nazarene colleagues are given. The third and most important reason is that although the Pilgrim Holiness church in the United States has the right to appoint a district superintendent while the church in Peru is still receiving aid, final authority resides not with the North Americans, but with a Latin American superintendent. With the Nazarenes, as already stated, final authority on the field still resides with the missionary council which is answerable only to the church in the United States.

It would be wrong to suggest that there is much more discrimination among the Nazarenes than with the Pilgrim Holiness church. The difference is rather that the Peruvian, because of past experiences, is ever on the alert for the possibility of discrimination, and this possibility manifestly does not exist in the Pilgrim Holiness church whereas it does with the Nazarenes. The structure of authority in the former church is

⁶² Lucille Taylor, *Op. Cit.* pp. 48 f.

⁶³ John Savage wrote in *South America*, Jan./Feb. 1946 p. 47, that the "Pilgrim Holiness church appears to have achieved relatively more than any other mission in the country."

such as to encourage the nationals to lower their guard, and this had a beneficial effect on the whole work. It may also be significant that the Nazarene documents fairly often mention the existence of moral and disciplinary problems among their national preachers, whereas the Pilgrim Holiness records give no indication of such difficulties. It may be that this is simply because the Nazarene records are so much more complete, but if this difference were real, it would be very interesting to investigate the matter further. It could just be that the same frustrations which provoked the Nazarene preachers to show a nationalistic attitude, also had an adverse influence on their moral behaviour.

The reason that the Nazarenes have been relatively less successful in the training of national pastors is at the most only remotely related to the problem of nationalism. In 1962 the Nazarene missionaries examined the record of their Bible school since its move to the new premises in 1950. They found that in spite of the urgent need for pastors only five graduates of that period had entered the ministry. It had, in effect, cost the mission half a million soles (about 20,000 U.S. dollars) to train each of these five pastors. The rest of the students had gone on to some other institution to complete their education⁶⁴. More or less the same situation exists in the Baptist seminary in Santiago⁶⁵, and in the Peruvian Bible Institute in Lima, although in the latter case the difficulty of placing pastors in the I.E.P. churches has somewhat hidden the problem being discussed here. It is nowhere suggested that these young people who go on to complete their education are necessarily lost to the Evangelical cause and some of them later do very valuable work, but it is questionable whether missions should devote so much effort to maintaining institutions which largely fail to achieve their declared object. If Bible institutes become a means by which young people can get a cheap start to their education, one is led to wonder whether missions would not do better to start more secular schools or to open hostels in the main towns so that young people can attend existing schools while at the same time living in a Christian atmosphere.

The Pilgrim Holiness Bible school's proportion of graduates entering the ministry has been considerably higher than that of the Nazarene Institute. Two reasons can be given. Firstly, that most of the students do not enrol on their own initiative, as is the case with the Nazarenes, but are sent and maintained by their churches. The result is that the graduates feel a moral responsibility to return to the churches which have helped them⁶⁶. Secondly, that the educational level is necessarily lower because of the much smaller staff. The result is that the Pilgrim Holiness Bible school is less likely to attract young people who are looking for an education, or to give them a desire to continue their

⁶⁴ Torgrimson's information.

⁶⁵ William Strong's information.

⁶⁶ Kenneth Howell's information.

studies once they have finished the course. Neither answer provided by the example of the Pilgrim Holiness Bible school is, however, suitable for widespread application. If enrolment is limited to those students who are sent by their churches, valuable candidates will be passed over, and if the educational standards of the Bible schools are kept down, how are the larger churches going to get the highly trained pastors they need? No Protestant church or mission in Peru or Chile has established a Bible training institute which overcomes these two problems, and it may well be that the Bible school system itself is at fault.

CHAPTER XIX

THE PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES IN PERU

a. The early pioneers

Howard W. Cragin and his wife, who were independent Pentecostal missionaries from the United States, arrived in Callao at the beginning of 1911 and soon afterwards moved to the capital ¹. Cragin found that the missionaries already in Lima were unwilling to receive the Pentecostal message and that he was given very few opportunities to preach in the existing churches. He soon became convinced that God wanted him to start a work in Quito and for that reason refrained from starting a new church in Lima so as not to leave it pastorless on his departure ². The Cragins worked for several years in Ecuador ³ and then moved on to La Paz in Bolivia in 1914 ⁴. In 1919 the Hurlburts and the Barkers of the Assemblies of God, the largest Pentecostal church in the United States, took up the work in Peru. On their arrival they consulted with John Ritchie, who as chairman of the local committee on co-operation advised them to go to the department of Ancash where no Protestant missionary work had been started ⁵. J. R. Hurlburt and his wife established themselves in the small mountain town of Macate and Forrest G. Barker and his wife started work in Yungay, a town in the beautiful Andean valley called the Callejón de Huaylas ⁶. In 1920 Paul Cragin, a brother of Howard, went to help in Macate ⁷, but as many of the inhabitants were migrating to the coast the work there soon came to an end, and in Yungay Barker experienced so much opposition that he was obliged to leave ⁸.

The Hurlburts then moved to Callao, where they succeeded in planting a church in 1922 ⁹. The Barkers stayed some time in Callao, but in 1922 they moved on to Huancayo in central Peru ¹⁰, where the Methodists had been established for many years. In both places strong

¹ *Chile Pentecostal*, Stgo. 15 de mayo 1911. Reference is made to a letter dated April 17, 1911 sent by Cragin from Lima to Hoover in Chile.

² Idem. 1 de diciembre 1911. Cragin's letter of Nov. 13, from Lima is quoted. Cragin was about to leave for Ecuador.

³ Idem. 1 de abril 1913. Cragin's letter from Ecuador dated Feb. 7, 1913.

⁴ Idem. 15 de octubre 1914.

⁵ Walter Erickson's information.

⁶ *Del Escalafón Evangélico*, Lima 1925.

⁷ Ritchie's notes in Herbert Money's possession in Lima.

⁸ Walter Erickson's information.

⁹ *La Guía Evangélica*, published by El Inca. Lima 1924.

¹⁰ Walter Erickson's information.

Pentecostal churches were eventually established, but by their insistence on going where they felt the Spirit was leading them and by their disrespect for the 1917 agreement that the committee on co-operation should assign each mission working in Peru to a separate area, these missionaries did a grave disservice to the Evangelical cause. It has been pointed out in the thirteenth chapter that Ritchie made a big mistake by imagining that this agreement did not also apply to the nationals, but at least he kept to the comity arrangements as far as foreign personnel was concerned. The first missionaries to establish themselves in areas assigned to others were Pentecostals, and once one exception had been made others followed till confusion and rivalry between the various Protestant missions in Peru became increasingly general.

Paul Cragin stayed in the Callejón de Huaylas, and moved in 1922 to Carás¹¹, but in the following year he left Peru and the region was again abandoned¹². In 1924 Lief Erickson, an independent Pentecostal in the United States, heard of Hoover's work in Chile and took up contact with him. Hoover was at that time looking for a successor and invited Erickson to Chile in the hope that he might be the right man. Erickson and his wife arrived in Chile on the last day of 1924 and stayed till June 1925, but found that he could not agree with Hoover's practice of infant baptism¹³. While Erickson was in Chile, Howard Cragin and his wife had returned to Peru and invited Erickson to come and help them¹⁴. The Ericksons accepted the invitation and stayed nearly a year in Callao with the Cragins¹⁵. During this time they made an exploratory trip to the department of Huancavelica, but found no suitable basis there. Then Ritchie suggested that they go to Huarás, the largest town in the Callejón de Huaylas¹⁶. In 1926 the Cragins and the Ericksons moved to this place which then had 15,000 inhabitants and succeeded in establishing the first permanent work in this area. Pentecostalism in Peru did not, therefore, arise spontaneously within the existing churches as was the case in Chile, but was in each case introduced from without.

b. The development of Pentecostalism in Peru

On February 27, 1927 the Cragins and the Ericksons tried to hold their first baptismal service in the river at Huarás. The local priest had told his congregation that if they permitted the Evangelicals to baptize in the river, the Virgin would cause it to dry up¹⁷. The Indians there-

¹¹ *South America*, (organ of the E.U.S.A.) Lon. July/Sept. 1922.

¹² *Del Escalafón Evangélico*.

¹³ Walter Erickson's information.

¹⁴ *Chile Pentecostal*, Stgo. junio 1925.

¹⁵ *Chile Pentecostal*, Stgo. abril de 1927.

¹⁶ Walter Erickson's information.

¹⁷ Lester F. Sumrall, *Through Blood and Fire in Latin America*. Grand Rapids Michigan 1944. pp. 63 ff.

fore attacked the missionaries with stones. Howard Cragin was severely wounded and left unconscious on the ground. Mrs. Cragin was dragged across the ground by her hair and Lief Erickson was hit by a large stone which fractured and indented his skull, leaving a permanent injury. Worse might have followed, had it not been for the bravery of the national brethren who dragged Cragin to safety and of Mrs. Erickson who lifted her husband up and helped him to escape¹⁸. As in other cases of persecution the result was in the end beneficial to the Protestant cause. The missionaries stayed on and for many years the area around Huarás remained the main sphere of action for the Pentecostals¹⁹.

In May 1927 Lief Erickson was joined by his brother Walter and in July 1928 by another brother Arthur²⁰. Hurlburt was pastor of the church in Callao, Barker and a national worker called Hipólito Astete were working in Huancayo, Howard Cragin and Juan Astete were in Huarás, while the Erickson brothers had re-started the work at Carás. In addition regular services were being held at eight other places "but", ended Cragin's letter, "there is no baptism of the Spirit yet"²¹. In September 1928 Ruth Couchman and Olga Pitt arrived in Peru and shortly afterwards moved on to Carás. They were members of the Assemblies of God and had the backing of the denominational headquarters in Springfield, Missouri²². Within a week of their arrival at Carás, Cragin and his wife went to greet them and the whole company spent the afternoon in prayer. A Peruvian girl who was working in the Erickson household, had just fallen on some stones and injured her wrist. The missionaries started praying for this girl and "soon this girl was shaken by the power of God and her wrist was healed. Evangeline Cragin who was eight years old, was baptized with the Spirit, and then the girl whose wrist had been healed was also baptized. Within an hour four people had been filled with the Spirit"²³.

That evening a meeting was held in which some fell to the floor and others spoke in English without knowing a word of that language²⁴. "One missionary who had just arrived on the field, praised the Lord in Quechua. Nationals were amazed to hear him giving utterance in their own tongue²⁵. The Pentecostal missionaries are convinced that this first outpouring of the Spirit on Peruvian soil which was accompanied with the gift of tongues marked an important stage in the development of the work²⁶. Before then the church was not really alive, but Lief

¹⁸ *Chile Pentecostal*, Stgo. abril de 1927;

Walter Erickson's information.

¹⁹ Keith E. Hamilton, *Church Growth in the High Andes*. Lucknow India. 1962. p. 53.

²⁰ Walter Erickson's information.

²¹ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. noviembre 1928. A recent letter from Cragin is quoted in this number.

²² Herbert Money's information.

²³ Lief Erickson's letter to Hoover, quoted in *Fuego de Pentecostés*, enero 1929.

²⁴ Idem.

²⁵ *Peru*, Folder published by the Assemblies of God. Springfield Missouri s.a. p. 8.

²⁶ Hamilton, Op. Cit. pp. 52 f.

Erickson wrote afterwards that "the meetings are packed. The young people and even children stand up and address the audience so well that I am inclined to keep quiet and let God manage everything. I only help them to avoid mistakes and they do the preaching"²⁷. In September 1929 Willis Hoover of Valparaíso stayed nineteen days in Callao and Lima and during his visit another remarkable outpouring of the Spirit was experienced²⁸. By that time Hurlburt had left and the work was in charge of a national worker who also attended to two groups which were being formed, the first in Miraflores, a suburb of Lima, and the second in Lima itself²⁹.

Around 1932 a start was made with the task of training a national ministry. A Bible school of six weeks duration was held in Huarás with 36 pupils in attendance and other similar ventures followed, but Ruth Couchman and Olga Pitt saw that more was needed, and in 1936 they started a permanent Bible institute at Miraflores³⁰. This was another important milestone in the development of the church. The students may not have been very bright intellectually, but they made up for this with enthusiasm, and the expansion of the church dates from the time that the first graduates came into the work³¹. Those who had finished the course were given credentials and a maximum allowance of 15 dollars a month. For the rest they had to live from the gifts of those to whom they preached, except for the missionary offerings which some of the churches raised for them. In 1940 the institute left its rented property in Miraflores and was transferred to its present site on the Avenida Argentina between Lima and Callao³².

c. The divisions of the Pentecostal movement in Peru

It was not long before difficulties started arising between the national workers and the missionaries. Hipólito Astete left the Pentecostals and started working as a preacher for the I.E.P. 1933³³. Juan Astete also left the Pentecostals and started working for the I.E.P. in 1940³⁴. In 1935 Jorge L. Cotos, a Peruvian who had had a university education, came into collision with the missionaries and formed his own church, which he called "La Iglesia de Cristo" (the Church of Christ). In 1964 this body had a total of nine congregations, three in the Lima Callao area, two in Chimbote and four in the area around Chimbote³⁵. The

²⁷ Lief Erickson's letter. *Fuego de Pentecostés*, enero de 1929.

²⁸ Hipólito Astete's letter sent from Huánuco and dated Feb. 29, 1936, quoted in *Fuego de Pentecostés*, marzo de 1936.

²⁹ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo., octubre de 1929.

³⁰ Walter Erickson's information; *Peru*, Folder published by the Assemblies of God. pp. 12 f.

³¹ Money's information.

³² Walter Erickson's information.

³³ *Adelante*, (Organ of the I.E.P.) Lima, diciembre de 1933.

³⁴ Idem, julio de 1940.

³⁵ Henry Hall and John Twentyman's information.

difficulties in this first period, as indeed in the later periods, revolved around the problem of how to interpret the will of the Holy Spirit. Members of the Pentecostal movement, in common with all Christians, often have difficulty in distinguishing between the guidance of the Holy Spirit and their own desires and aspirations; the difference is that the Pentecostals tend to be more dogmatic in their claim that the Spirit is leading them. Such claims momentarily enhance the authority of those who make them, but in the long run, unless accompanied by real humility, can lead to disillusionment and bitterness.

During the early stages of the development, the organized churches were all led by missionaries and the national workers had secondary positions³⁶. As long as the Peruvians were convinced that the missionaries were being guided by the Spirit there was no problem, but as soon as some of the more educated among them, such as Cotos, came to realize that this was by no means always the case, trouble ensued. The same difficulty also arose later among the Peruvians themselves. In 1945 an ambitious group of young people who wanted more freedom to express their ideas, came into collision with the settled leadership. Artemio Díaz then formed the Iglesia Pentecostal Avanzada (Advanced Pentecostal Church) which is now called the Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal Misionera (Missionary Pentecostal Evangelical Church). This new church has grown considerably and in 1964 had a total of 52 congregations, 15 on the coast, 18 in the Sierra and 19 in the Montaña³⁷.

Around the year 1936 Wilfred Morris came to Peru. He had been trained at the university of Colombia and possessed considerable intellectual advantages over the other missionaries. He translated the New Testament into the Quechua of Huarás³⁸, arranged for the Assemblies of God to be able to hold property in Peru, and gave the Peruvian churches an organization similar to that of the Assemblies of God in the United States. The result of this re-organization was that the country is now divided into areas. Each area holds an annual convention which is attended by the pastors and one delegate from each of the churches in the region. This convention elects from among its members a regional presbyter who must be an ordained minister and who acts as superintendent in that region during the following year. Each year a General Presbytery for the whole of Peru is held and this body elects seven men who must also be ordained ministers and who together with the regional presbyters form an Executive Presbytery which governs the church in the intervening period. The effect of this organization has been to centralize authority³⁹ and to curb individualistic interpretations of the Spirit's guidance, but it has not restrained the struggle for power.

The confidence which the Assemblies of God headquarters in the

³⁶ Walter Erickson's information.

³⁷ Henry Hall and John Twentyman's information.

³⁸ Money's information.

³⁹ Felix Calle's information.

United States placed in Ruth Couchman and Olga Pitt, their vital position in the Bible Institute in Lima, and their remarkable personal gifts combined to give them a dominating influence in the movement, which in the end became virtually a stranglehold ⁴¹. For anybody unacquainted with the matriarchal tendencies in some of the Pentecostal churches in the United States, such a situation is almost impossible to understand. Anyone who opposed the leadership of these two ladies found themselves excluded. When Olga Pitt fell in love with a missionary who was estranged from his wife, prayer meetings were held which gave some people the impression that the death of the unwanted partner was being asked for from God. In 1940 after the wife had died, Olga Pitt married this missionary ⁴², whereupon Arthur Erickson criticized the marriage, but such was the influence of these two ladies that Erickson did not return to the field after his next furlough ⁴³.

A little later, when Morris, who was then superintendent, wanted to take the mission car to show Scott, a newly arrived missionary, something of the work, Ruth Couchman refused to hand over the keys. This led to a conflict between Scott and Ruth Couchman. When Scott went on furlough the missionaries on the field sent a letter to the Board asking that he should not return. But the Board noticed that Hall the superintendent had not signed the letter and enquiries revealed that he did not agree with its contents. These repeated incidents exhausted the patience both of the Board in the United States and of the nationals on the Executive Presbytery. Melvin Hodges, the Board secretary visited Peru around 1950 ⁴⁴, and it was decided to hand control of the church entirely over to the nationals and to withdraw all the missionaries in Peru except the Halls and another missionary couple who were connected with the Bible Institute in Lima, Walter Erickson and his wife who were working in Huarás and the Palmers at Cuzco ⁴⁵.

What had started as a conflict between the missionaries finally also provoked a division between the nationals. During his term of service Scott came to be very much appreciated and liked by the Peruvians ⁴⁶, but some felt that he stimulated nationalism by telling the nationals that they were being dominated by certain of the missionaries ⁴⁷. Morris, who was at the time engaged in building a large new church in Lima, became particularly opposed to Scott on this point. So as to insure that Scott should never gain control over the new building Morris had it registered not in the name of the Asambleas de Dios (the Assemblies of God), but in the name of the local congregation ⁴⁸. The result was that

⁴⁰ Money's information.

⁴¹ Idem.

⁴² *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. octubre de 1940.

⁴³ Money's information.

⁴⁴ Hall's information.

⁴⁵ Walter Erickson's information.

⁴⁶ Hall's information.

⁴⁷ Walter Erickson's information.

⁴⁸ Hall and Twentyman's information.

when Scott and Morris and several other missionaries were all withdrawn from the field in 1950, a problem immediately arose between the nationals. The Executive Presbytery laid claim to the unfinished building, but the pastor refused to hand it over ⁴⁹. Finally this congregation and one other in the Lima area as well as the church at Ica to the south, broke away from the *Asambleas de Dios* and formed themselves into a new denomination called the "Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal del Perú" (the Pentecostal Evangelical Church of Peru), which by 1964 had grown to 26 congregations: nine in the Lima area and seventeen in the departments of Ica and Ayacucho ⁵⁰.

Shortly afterwards, William L. Hunter, an independent Pentecostal missionary who had come into Peru under the auspices of the Assemblies of God, broke away and formed his own church which is called the *Iglesia Autónoma Pentecostal del Perú* (the Autonomous Pentecostal Church of Peru). In 1964 this body had 46 congregations, but many of these were only small groups ⁵¹. In addition the Church of Christ, a separate Pentecostal church in the United States, has started working in Peru on its own account ⁵². As a result the Pentecostal movement in Peru is at present divided into six different denominations. The surprising thing is that in spite of these divisions and to some extent even because of them, the Pentecostal movement in Peru has grown very rapidly in recent years. In 1945 there were some 2000 Pentecostal members in Peru. By 1960 this figure had risen to 7,500 ⁵³, and by 1964 it stood at 10,000 ⁵⁴. The *Asambleas de Dios* remained by far the largest group. In 1964 they had over 300 churches and groups ⁵⁵, 200 ordained or licensed pastors ⁵⁶, and of the 10,000 Pentecostal members in Peru at that time, probably as many as 8000 were in fellowship with them.

d. Some conclusions

This chapter has been based on information given by some of those who took part in the events described and also on passing references in other works. More research is needed before definite conclusions can be drawn, but certain points stand out even at this stage in the enquiry. Firstly, that although the pastors and national workers are generally poorly equipped from an intellectual point of view and are inadequately supported by their congregations, they often demonstrate a very real spirit of sacrifice and are willing to work for little pay rather than give up their task ⁵⁷. Secondly, that the laymen are very active in evangelism

⁴⁹ Money's information.

⁵⁰ Hall and Twentyman's information.

⁵¹ Idem.

⁵² Money's information.

⁵³ Hamilton, *Op. Cit.* p. 29.

⁵⁴ Money's estimate.

⁵⁵ Walter Erickson's information.

⁵⁶ Money's information.

⁵⁷ Walter Erickson's information.

themselves⁵⁸ and thirdly, that none of the new splinter groups have died out, as is the case with some of the splits from other churches, but that all have managed to grow. On the negative side it must be said that the Pentecostals in Peru have shown a tendency to individualism. This is demonstrated by the divisions, several of which have been related to personal rather than to church matters. It is also true that as yet Peruvian Pentecostalism has given very little attention to the social implications of the Gospel.

The Adventists have also been successful in building up a national ministry in Peru, but their workers are well paid. The willingness of the Pentecostal workers to accept financial stringency lies to some extent in the apprenticeship training they receive after leaving the Bible institute. As soon as they have gained ten baptized converts the General Presbytery which possesses the exclusive right of granting credentials, recognizes them as "ministros cristianos" (Christian ministers)⁵⁹. This entitles them to preach, but not to administer the sacraments. If they continue to do well the General Presbytery grants them a credential as a "ministro licenciado" (licensed minister). They can then administer the sacraments if no ordained minister is available, but apart from representing their congregation at the General Presbytery they cannot take part in the government of the church. Finally and only after having proved himself as a "ministro licenciado", can the General Presbytery make somebody a "ministro ordenado" (ordained minister). Whereas most of the ministros cristianos and licenciados work part-time, 95 % of the ministros ordenados give themselves full time to the work of the church⁶⁰.

If a comparison is made between the national ministry of the Pentecostals and that of the I.E.P., then the matter of remuneration no longer plays a role. The difference in this case lies in the fact that the Pentecostal ministry enjoys very definite privileges whereas the I.E.P. ministry has no privilege which is not shared equally by all laymen. Ritchie abolished the special privileges of the full-time ministry in order to stimulate the participation of the laymen, but the Pentecostals have managed to achieve an active lay ministry without eliminating ministerial privileges. This would indicate that Pentecostalism possesses something which is missing in the I.E.P. The fact that all the Pentecostal splits have survived whereas many of the I.E.P. splits have not, also points in the same direction. In the next two chapters a Pentecostal movement will be examined which stems from a different background, from the Pentecostal churches which have been studied in this chapter, and a comparison of the two movements may lead to a better understanding of this extra factor in Pentecostalism.

⁵⁸ Felix Calle's information.

⁵⁹ Money's information.

⁶⁰ Walter Erickson's information.

CHAPTER XX

THE PENTECOSTAL CHURCH IN CHILE UNDER HOOVER'S LEADERSHIP

a. The tension between Pentecostalism and nationalism

After the events of Sunday September 12, 1909 which have been described in the ninth chapter, a group of about forty people separated themselves from the First M.E. church in Santiago ¹ and a smaller group left the Second church ². These groups met at first in private houses, and as there was still a hope of reaching a settlement at the next annual conference of the M.E. church in Chile, for five months they were not organized as separate churches ³. The group which had come from the First church chose a tradesman called Guillermo Toro as its leader and Hoover ordained him on a probationary basis ⁴. A prophecy given in one of the meetings of those that had left the Second church indicated that Victor Pavéz Sr. was to be their pastor ⁵. Pavéz had been licensed as an exhorter in the M.E. church in January 1902 ⁶ and was at the time of the division a recognized, but unordained, worker of that church. Until April 1910 he was involved in a lawsuit with the Methodist mission about his dwelling and left the preaching to others ⁷, but after that he took on the leadership of the second group.

The period of waiting for the annual conference which was held in Valparaíso in February 1910 was important for two reasons. Firstly, because Hoover, who had at first expressed great confidence in the ability of the Holy Spirit to control the course of events ⁸, was sobered in his judgment by the excesses which took place in the Valparaíso church in the months of September and October ⁹. After that certain of the more controversial demonstrations were laid before the Lord in prayer and examined in the light of the Scriptures. As a result some

¹ Ignacio Vergara, *El Protestantismo in Chile*. Stgo. 1962 ³. p. 112. Quoted from *Chile Pentecostal*, Stgo. Sept. 1954, which was in Umaña's library and inaccessible at the time of the writer's visit to Santiago.

² Victor Gatica's information.

³ Willis C. Hoover, *Historia del Avivamiento Pentecostal en Chile*. Valpo. 1948. p. 38.

⁴ Buell O. Campbell's letter to Homer Stuntz dated Oct. 31, 1910. Me.F. N.Y.

⁵ Victor Pavéz Jr.'s information. (Victor Pavéz Toro was the father of Victor Pavéz Ortiz who is at present superintendent of the Misión Iglesia Pentecostal.

⁶ The certificate given by Cecilio Venegas hangs in Pavéz Jr's office.

⁷ Carlos Morán's information and recollection.

⁸ Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 31.

⁹ Idem. p. 60.

practices were banned ¹⁰ and it became clear, at least to Hoover and those immediately around him, that events could not be allowed to run their course without human guidance. In the second place the controversy which Hoover sustained during these months with his missionary colleagues, brought him to realize afresh the importance of Wesley's doctrine. He believed that many experiences in Wesley's early ministry gave support to his position, and immediately after the annual conference tried unsuccessfully to have extracts of Wesley's journal published in the Methodist magazine *El Cristiano* ¹¹.

The conviction that human guidance was after all necessary led Hoover to emphasize the need of obedience to the pastors ¹². This has led directly to the present dominating and sometimes even dictatorial position of the pastors in the Chilean Pentecostal movement. At the same time it needs to be remembered that but for the authority of the pastors the movement would have disintegrated completely. The respect for Wesley's doctrine has also had a profound and lasting influence on the movement. Hoover soon realized that this teaching was not only an instrument with which to defend himself against his colleagues, but a guide line to show where the limits of the liberty of the Spirit lay. Already in March 1910 Hoover was urging a member of one of the Santiago groups not to depart from the teaching of Wesley's sermons ¹³. The emphasis on Wesleyan tradition has meant that only in Chile have Pentecostal churches maintained infant baptism, episcopal church government and Methodist ecclesiastical discipline.

Both of the groups in Santiago sent representatives to the annual Methodist conference to talk to Bishop Bristol ¹⁴, but as no agreement could be reached they decided shortly afterwards to break all relations with the M.E. church and to form a separate body called the "Iglesia Metodista Nacional" (National Methodist Church) ¹⁵. In April, hardly two months later, the officials of the M.E. church in Valparaiso also decided to become independent and after prayer felt that they should call themselves "Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal" (Pentecostal Methodist Church) ¹⁶. The officials of the M.E. church in Valparaiso took their decision independently of Hoover, their pastor, but there can be no doubt that they acted under the influence of his ideas. After Hoover had also decided to resign from the M.E. church, he read out a speech of resignation after the communion service on Sunday evening April 17, in which he emphasized that the separation from the M.E. church was not

¹⁰ Idem. p. 61.

¹¹ Idem. pp. 68 f.

¹² Carlos Morán's recollection.

¹³ Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 68.

¹⁴ Idem. p. 63.

¹⁵ Idem. pp. 65 f.

¹⁶ Guillermo Castillo's article in *Fuego de Pentecostés*. Stgo. junio de 1936. (He was assistant to Hoover at the time of the revival.)

motivated by nationalism, but by the wish to be able to follow the leading of the Spirit freely ¹⁷.

Hoover supported his contention by pointing out that not only missionaries but also national pastors had opposed the Pentecostal movement. Technically this was true, although several of the M.E. national pastors maintained happy personal relationships with their Pentecostal colleagues even after the division ¹⁸ and there can be no doubt that the real opposition to the Pentecostal movement came from the missionaries and not from the nationals. The important fact, however, is that after Hoover had also resigned from the M.E. church, the two small, struggling Pentecostal churches in Santiago both sent him an invitation to become their superintendent ¹⁹. This Hoover accepted and from then on all the churches in the new movement adopted the name Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal. Pentecostalism in Chile did not thereby lose its national character, but thanks to Hoover's influence the emphasis came to lie on its Pentecostal nature, even if it was Pentecostalism of a very unusual type. A missionary writer later described Chilean Pentecostalism as a "nationalistic movement" ²⁰. Such a description is acceptable, provided that it is remembered that with a few exceptions the positive desire to express the liberty of the Spirit in a Chilean way overshadowed any negative reaction against the foreigners.

b. The rapid initial expansion

After the division in Valparaiso the Pentecostal members scattered to their homes as they had done after the earthquake in 1906. Ninety-six services a week were held in fourteen different houses ²¹. These meetings were led by the various members of the church board, and Hoover visited each meeting in turn. Once a week the officials held a meeting to give an account of the moneys received and to arrange who should lead the meetings in the following week ²². Apart from Hoover, all the officials supported themselves by secular work, but the various groups together undertook the support of Hoover and his family ²³. By the end of 1910 the first enthusiasm was passing and many of the members were being overcome by a kind of lethargy ²⁴. At this stage Hoover reported that somebody who had never spoken in tongues suddenly received the gift of interpreting the unknown languages which from time to time were used to praise God in the services ²⁵. This incident illustrates in

¹⁷ Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 74.

¹⁸ *Chile Pentecostal*, Concepción, 28 de febrero 1911.

¹⁹ Hoover, Op. Cit. pp. 98 f.

²⁰ Stuart McNairn's article in *World Dominion*. Lon. April 1936. p. 154.

²¹ Campbell's letter to Stuntz dated Oct. 31, 1910. Me.F. N.Y.

²² Hoover, Op. Cit. p. 83.

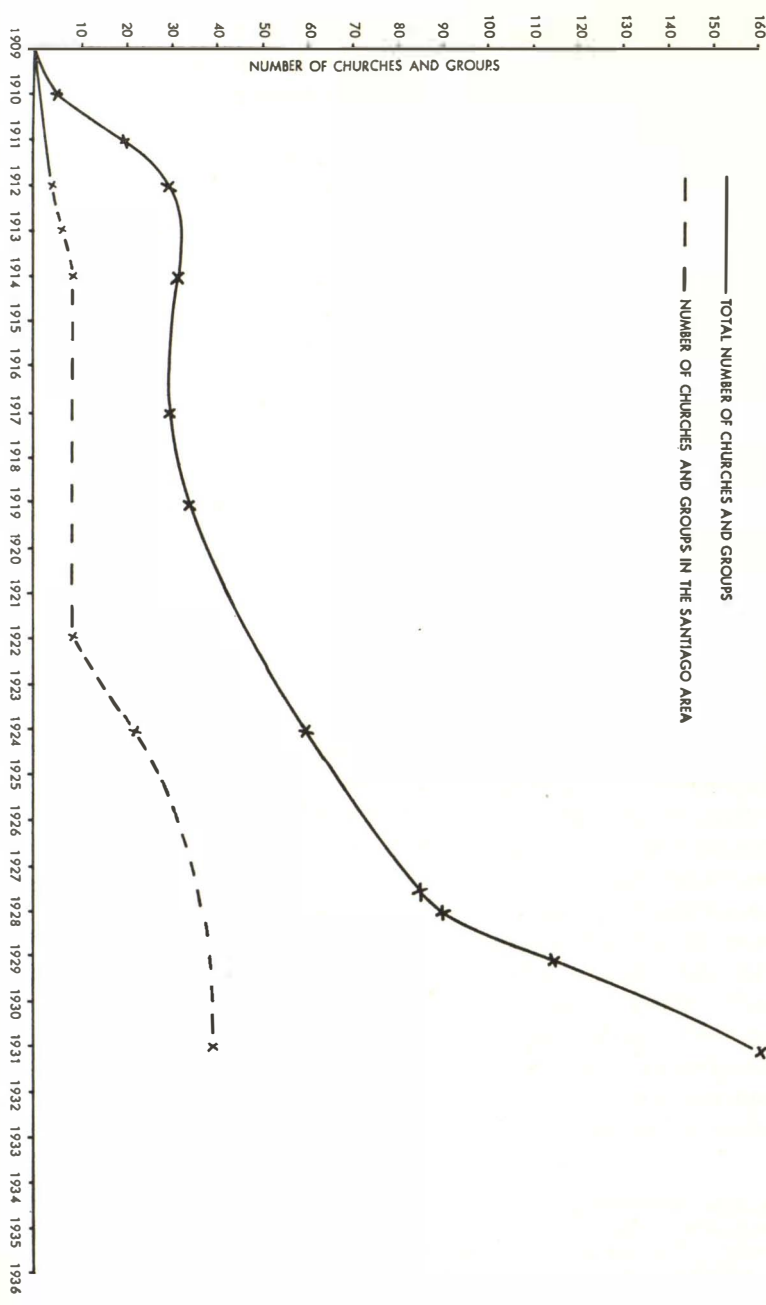
²³ Hoover, Pentecost in Chile, *World Dominion*, Lon. April 1932. p. 155.

²⁴ *Chile Pentecostal*, Concepción, 18 de diciembre 1910.

²⁵ *Chile Pentecostal*, Concepción, 1 de diciembre 1910;

Idem. 28 de febrero 1911.

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the first place, how new signs were used to maintain interest and secondly, how the Chilean Pentecostal movement from the start has distinguished itself from Pentecostalism in other parts of the world in that it has placed the gift of tongues on exactly the same level as the other gifts²⁶ and never regarded it as the indispensable sign for the baptism of the Spirit²⁷.

In July 1912 Hoover obtained the use of a hall in Valparaíso which could hold 500 people²⁸, and in August there were reports that some of those taking part in the services were falling on the floor as had happened at the beginning of the revival²⁹. A reporter of one of Chile's leading newspapers visited one of these meetings. He wrote that Hoover had spoken at length on the need of forgiving others as the Lord Jesus had forgiven those who sinned against Him and that every offence received should be regarded as an opportunity for putting the Lord's example into practice. Hoover then invited his listeners to forgive in prayer all those that had offended them and to shout "Glory to God" when they found that they had nobody more to forgive. Finally Hoover invited all to pray. The noise was tremendous; some fell on the floor while the majority stayed in their seats trembling or even jumping up and down. At the end of this "astonishing hurly-burly" Hoover passed along the benches gathering up those who still lay on the floor as if they were unconscious. The reporter expressed real appreciation for Hoover's sermon, but at the end of his article recorded that the general impression he had received of the meeting was one of fanaticism³⁰.

That Hoover succeeded in reaching people who were not being touched by any other form of religious or social work, cannot be doubted. The noise of his meetings attracted the thieves before they set out on their night's work and many were converted, with the result that the authorities started wondering what had happened to many of their problem cases. When many were found in the Pentecostal meetings, the municipal authorities sent Hoover a New Year's card adorned with the photographs of 24 ex-delinquents, with the message that they were convinced that these photographs now belonged to Hoover's files and not to theirs³¹. Hoover came to be respected in Valparaíso, even by those who opposed the Pentecostal movement³². He associated himself fully with the poor and was seen walking along a dusty road, shepherd's crook in hand and wearing a poncho on which he slept when visiting churches outside Valparaíso³³. Chile's economy was prospering, but it

²⁶ Hoover, *Historia del Avivamiento*. p. 33.

²⁷ Francisco Gonzalez, Victor Pavéz Jr. and Enrique Chavez's information.

²⁸ *Chile Pentecostal*, Concepción, 1 de julio 1912.

²⁹ Idem. 1 de setiembre 1912.

³⁰ *El Mercurio*, Stgo. 2 de setiembre 1912.

³¹ Juan Tapia's information and recollection.

³² Juan Dänese's information. Dänese lived in the same street as Hoover.

³³ David C. Brackenridge's recollection. Brackenridge, afterwards B.F.B.S. agent in Peru and Chile, was first in business in Valpo. from 1914-1918.

was a time of great social distress. In Iquique, where many were reacting against the churches, the poor organized themselves in societies for mutual help³⁴, but in many other places such secular societies could not satisfy the aspirations of the masses, and the poor sought refuge in the Pentecostal meetings.

Towards the end of 1910 the Pentecostal work in Santiago was not prospering. The First church, so called because it had separated from the First M.E. church and not because it was earlier than the other Pentecostal churches³⁵, contained several strong personalities and dissension was arising among them³⁶. Furthermore their leader Guillermo Toro was accused by the Methodists of having absconded with some of their funds³⁷. These circumstances led Hoover to depart from his previous practice with this church of simply confirming the leader of their choice. When Carlos Leighton, the pastor in charge of the Angol circuit, resigned from the M.E. church in February 1911 to join the Pentecostal movement³⁸, Hoover asked him to take over the First church in Santiago, but within two months Leighton became paralyzed³⁹. Hoover knew that if he put one of the four leading men in charge, dangerous rivalries would ensue and so during a visit to Santiago he continued in prayer with the officials of the First church till they had all solemnly promised to accept anyone he would appoint⁴⁰. Hoover then entrusted the church for the duration of Leighton's illness to Manuel Umaña, an energetic man of 29 years who had just moved from Limache to the capital⁴¹.

Umaña later declared that he had been a local preacher in the M.E. church before joining the Pentecostal movement⁴², but this is not so⁴³ and one source affirms that he was never more than a member on probation in the M.E. church⁴⁴. In July it seemed as if Leighton's health was improving, when Hoover was suddenly called to the United States because his mother was ill⁴⁵. Unfortunately Leighton's health did not improve and as the Pentecostal church had no funds to look after him, he returned to the M.E. church which graciously cared for him till he

³⁴ *Actas de la undécima reunión de la conferencia misionera occidental de Sud América de la Iglesia Metodista Episcopal*, Concepción, 14-20 de febrero 1911. (Robert Elphick's report for Iquique).

³⁵ *Chile Pentecostal*, Stgo. 12 de setiembre 1959 affirms (p. 7) that Hoover and Pavéz did not join the new church till more than a year after the events of Sept. 1909. This is contradicted by every other source and as Vergara points out (*Op. Cit.* pp. 114 f.) this article contradicts itself on this point.

³⁶ Enrique Chavez and Victor Gatica's information.

³⁷ Campbell's letter to Stuntz dated Oct. 31, 1910. Me.F. N.Y.

³⁸ *Actas de la undécima reunión . . .*, (Lewis Reeder's report for southern Chile.)

³⁹ *Chile Pentecostal*, Stgo. 15 de mayo 1911.

⁴⁰ Enrique Chavez's information.

⁴¹ *Chile Pentecostal*, Stgo. 1 de julio 1911;

Carlos Morán's information.

⁴² *Chile Pentecostal*, Stgo. 12 de setiembre 1959.

⁴³ Carlos Morán's information.

⁴⁴ Victor Pavéz Jr.'s information.

⁴⁵ *Chile Pentecostal*, Stgo. 22 de julio 1911.

died. Leighton later saw his illness as a judgment on the spiritual pride he had shown while he was caught up in the Pentecostal movement⁴⁶. Although Umaña had had no training at all he manifested capability and a love for souls⁴⁷. In January 1912 the First church moved to a better hall⁴⁸, and by July of that year this church had already established five other groups⁴⁹. The Second Pentecostal church did not suffer any change of leadership, but from the start it was smaller than the First church and as a group it had less talent. It grew more slowly and by August 1913 had established two other groups⁵⁰.

The churches in Valparaiso and Santiago became centres from which unpaid workers went out in many directions so that already at the beginning of 1911 Pentecostal work had been established in 19 places in Chile⁵¹. This activity was not the result of planning by some committee, but took place in response to prophecies uttered in the services which called people, sometimes by name, to go to specified places where help was needed⁵². In this way Ceferino Arancibia was sent to Concepción in December 1910 to care for the Pentecostal members that had been left there after Tulio Morán had moved to Santiago because of his illness⁵³. In June Hoover organized the church there officially with Arancibia as pastor⁵⁴. Open air preaching came to play a large part in the diffusion of the Pentecostal message. In 1908 Tulio Morán did some open air preaching in Concepción⁵⁵, and in 1912 this method of evangelism was also adopted in Valparaiso. At the time such meetings were still illegal in Chile and the police intervened, arresting some of the participants. A prophecy then designated certain brethren to petition the Minister of the Interior in Santiago. The appeal was successful and the Minister instructed the authorities in Valparaiso not to hinder open air meetings⁵⁶. There was still often opposition from the populace but the meetings went on and have become an integral feature of the Chilean Pentecostal movement.

Mention must also be made of the magazine produced by the Pentecostal movement in this early period. On September 11, 1909, Enrique Koppmann of the Independent Presbyterian church in Concepción, started a magazine called *Chile Evangélico*⁵⁷. He continued it for fourteen months but apparently all the copies have been lost, which is unfortunate because his reports would almost certainly have shed more

⁴⁶ Mrs. Fetus' recollection.

⁴⁷ *Chile Pentecostal*, Concepción 1 de setiembre 1912 (Quoting Quiroga's letter dated June 9, 1912).

⁴⁸ *Chile Pentecostal*, Concepción 15 de enero 1912.

⁴⁹ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. diciembre de 1950.

⁵⁰ Idem.

⁵¹ *Chile Pentecostal*, Concepción, 9 de febrero 1911.

⁵² Idem. 22 de enero 1911.

⁵³ *Bodas de Oro Pastorales. Presbítero Daniel A. Venegas Perez.*

⁵⁴ *Chile Pentecostal*, Stgo. 1 de julio 1911.

⁵⁵ Carlos Morán's information.

⁵⁶ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. mayo de 1948.

⁵⁷ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Valpo, enero de 1928.

light on the Pentecostal movement right at its very beginning. Koppmann became ill and was unable to carry on the magazine alone. An assistant editor was found and on November 24, 1910 the magazine appeared under the new title *Chile Pentecostal*. On April 6, 1911 the administration was moved to Santiago, but on November 25, of the same year, publication was resumed in Concepción. The magazine had financial problems⁵⁸, Koppmann's health seems to have worsened and after July 15, 1915 publication was interrupted for nearly two years. While Koppmann carried responsibility for the paper it maintained a good standard. The magazine gave news about the Pentecostal movement in many parts of the world, and carried reasonable articles which were by no means limited to Pentecostalism.

c. The tension between freedom and discipline

Hoover's prestige and authority was so great that after the excesses which took place in September and October 1909, many years passed before the church in Valparaíso was again troubled by an internal crisis. However, in the two churches in Santiago things were different. There was an influential group which included Guillermo Toro of the First church and Carlos Morán of the Second which viewed any limitation of the glorious liberty of the Spirit with the greatest suspicion. The immediate cause of conflict in the Second church was the pastor's support. Pavéz Sr. had been ordained as deacon in April 1911⁵⁹, but the group was not able to provide adequately for his needs and for the first few years both Pavéz and Umaña had to contend with very great financial difficulties⁶⁰. When Hoover discovered that the Second church was collecting money for an organ, he ordered that this money should rather be used for Pavéz's support. He also insisted that Methodist church discipline should be strictly adhered to and when Carlos Morán lodged a complaint against Pavéz Sr., Hoover told him to be subject to the pastor. Carlos Morán found himself unable to accept this advice, because in 1909 Hoover had told him to follow the leading of the Holy Spirit even at the risk of opposing the will of his pastor. The conflict could not be settled and in 1912 Carlos Morán together with another founding member of the Second church were expelled from membership⁶¹.

In the First church Umaña approached this problem differently. During the first half of 1912, whilst he was engaged in his secular work, he heard a voice telling him not to work any more. Shortly afterwards Umaña's wife, who was also a most remarkable personality⁶², had a vision while she was praying that a mysterious visitor came to her home

⁵⁸ *Chile Pentecostal*, Concepción 25 de noviembre 1911.

⁵⁹ *Chile Pentecostal*, Stgo. 15 de mayo 1911.

⁶⁰ Hoover, Pentecost in Chile. *World Dominion*. Lon. April 1932 p. 155.

⁶¹ Carlos Morán's recollection.

⁶² Enrique Chavez, Umaña's assistant for several years, believes that Umaña's wife was the real power behind the scenes.

and assured her that they would no longer lack bread. This visitor also told her that her husband had been put in his position by God and that no one could remove him ⁶³. Without calling the genuineness of these visions in doubt, it is nevertheless true to say that Umaña used them very cleverly to surround his person with an aura of mystery and sanctity ⁶⁴. Under the circumstances then reigning this was certainly not a wrong thing to do. Pavéz Sr.'s very real humility ⁶⁵ prevented him from doing something similar, but the consequence was that the tension between freedom and discipline was less easily overcome in the Second church than in the First, and it may be that this is the explanation of why the First church grew more rapidly than the Second.

The tension between freedom and discipline also manifested itself in the services themselves. It was customary in the Methodist Sunday schools to use a little bell to call for silence. Soon this little bell was also being used in the regular Pentecostal services firstly, to interrupt prophecies directed against the pastors ⁶⁶ and secondly, to indicate to the congregation that the time had come to stop their demonstrations ⁶⁷. This use of the bell contributed to the conflicts which in October 1913 led a group of malcontents under the leadership of Carlos del Campo, a cousin of the Chilean statesman Carlos Ibañez del Campo, to form a new church called the "Iglesia del Señor" (Church of the Lord) ⁶⁸. As the founders of the new church were opposed to pastors and superintendents they entrusted its leadership to twelve apostles. Carlos del Campo acted as president and the other apostles included such men as Guillermo Toro, Tulio Morán and Carlos Morán. During the first five years the work prospered in Santiago, and seven churches were established there. The work also prospered in the south, but at a certain moment it was discovered that it was impossible to continue the work without the help of pastors and a superintendent ⁶⁹. An attempt was made to overcome the difficulties by means of a quarterly conference, the first of which was held in July 1920, but the conflicts could not be resolved. Since then this church has been divided at least five times ⁷⁰ and although two of the bodies still have between 25 and 30 churches each, in addition to outstations, the progress of the work has been largely halted.

The use of the bell to end the demonstrations during the meetings also created problems for those outside the movement. Many in the M.E.

⁶³ *Chile Pentecostal*, Concepción 1 de setiembre 1912, quoting Quiroga's letter written from Santiago and dated June 9, 1912.

⁶⁴ Enrique Chavez's recollection.

⁶⁵ Hoover's article about Pavéz Sr. *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. diciembre 1933.

⁶⁶ Carlos Morán's recollection.

⁶⁷ Moisés Torregrosa's information and recollection.

⁶⁸ Ernesto Uribe's information.

⁶⁹ Carlos Morán's recollection.

⁷⁰ Vergara, *Op. Cit.* pp. 137-140 counts four divisions, but Uribe five. According to Uribe there were in 1964 six bodies within Chile and one independent daughter church in the Argentine.

church were opposed to the attitude adopted by Bishop Bristol and Superintendent Rice⁷¹. Had it not been for their doubts about what were affirmed to be manifestations of the Spirit they would have gladly supported the Pentecostal movement. But if, as Hoover affirmed, the people rolling on the floor were fighting with the devil till they had gained the victory, why did they have to continue their rolling in succeeding meetings?⁷² Perhaps the most widely asked question was why the demonstrations ended when there was an outside interruption or the bell was rung. At first Hoover answered that the noise of the bell echoed in heaven⁷³. Later at a conference held in 1929 he affirmed that the Holy Spirit is an obedient Spirit. "Obedient to men?" asked Mrs. Fetis, to which Hoover replied: "We must accept these things by faith". It was Hoover's unwillingness even to attempt a rational approach to these problems, which gave many people the impression that both he and the movement he led were fanatical.

Obedience is one of the Holy Spirit's attributes, but so is rationality. A rational enquiry into His operation is, therefore, not only possible, but, provided certain limits are respected, most helpful. The limits of such an enquiry are set by the fact that the Holy Spirit wishes to control us, but that we can never control or fully understand Him. If we succeed in controlling any spirit, than we may be sure that it is not the Holy Spirit. Hoover's critics saw this clearly and came to the conclusion that the strange happenings which characterized the Pentecostal meetings, were manifestations of the people's own spirit. If only Hoover had been able to develop Wesley's basic idea, that the individual happenings were but accompaniments and that the real manifestation of the Spirit lay in the direction in which these accompaniments were being developed, he might have been able to help both his critics and his supporters. The Pentecostal movement grew up in Chile at a time that the trek from the countryside to the big cities had begun. Tremendous frustrations were building up in the lives and the minds of the poorest inhabitants of these cities. The Pentecostal meetings provided these underprivileged people with a harmless method for releasing these tensions, but because it all took place in a space in which the Word of God was usually faithfully presented, the strange happenings were in many cases but a first step towards something better. Unfortunately Hoover maintained that these happenings were themselves manifestations of the Spirit and this only hardened his critics in their opposition, and what was worse, forced both himself and his supporters to adopt an attitude of blind belief.

In one important aspect Hoover was right. "All is useless and unfruitful" he wrote "when we want meetings to have method and order as

⁷¹ Campbell's letter to Stuntz dated Oct. 31, 1910. Me.F. N.Y.

⁷² Mrs. Fetis' question to Hoover.

⁷³ Moisés Torregrosa's recollection.

we understand these qualities”⁷⁴. The first step on the road to the kingdom of God for these frustrated, poverty-stricken people pouring into the Chilean cities was that they should express themselves. At the same time Hoover realized that liberty of expression was self-defeating, unless accompanied by disciplined leadership. Hoover’s solution to the problem of the tension between freedom and discipline was to divide the two elements. The services were given freedom and church government was given the discipline. The separation was not complete as the use of the little bell in the services showed, and this arrangement has given rise to considerable problems, as will appear from the further history of the movement. Nevertheless all the indigenous Pentecostal churches in Chile have maintained this general pattern, and the writer knows of no church in Chile or Peru which has found a better answer to the problem.

d. The further development of the movement under Hoover’s leadership

For reasons which are not clear, the Pentecostal movement in Chile did not make much progress during the years of the First World War. In Valparaíso they were obliged to leave the meeting place they had found in 1912 after only two years, and during the next few years they moved their meeting place several times⁷⁵. Finally in 1919, with the help of 15,000 U.S. dollars given by his family in the United States, Hoover was able to erect a permanent building on the Calle Retamo, and afterwards a smaller church on the Calle Ines⁷⁶. After the First World War Valparaíso started to become relatively less important, and the centre of gravity of the Pentecostal movement shifted increasingly to Santiago. In Santiago itself the First church managed to establish a group in 1914⁷⁷, and in 1917 the main church moved to a larger hall on a street called Jotabeche⁷⁸. The Second church was able to build a temple on leased ground in 1919⁷⁹. Ill health forced Arancibia to abandon Concepción in January 1914, and shortly afterwards he died. The work in Concepción was then taken on by Daniel Venegas⁸⁰ and during the fifty years of his ministry Concepción became a centre of evangelism and the base from which fifty groups were established⁸¹.

In February 1917 Hoover started publishing *Chile Pentecostal* again.

⁷⁴ *Chile Pentecostal*, Concepción 28 de febrero 1911.

⁷⁵ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. mayo de 1948.

⁷⁶ Idem. junio de 1936.

⁷⁷ Idem. diciembre de 1950.

⁷⁸ *Chile Pentecostal*, Valpo. octubre de 1917.

⁷⁹ Idem. julio de 1919.

⁸⁰ *Chile Pentecostal*, Concepción 15 de febrero 1914.

⁸¹ *Bodas de Oro Pastorales, 1914–1964. Presbítero Daniel A. Venegas*, at the archive of the Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal. Concepción. (Daniel Venegas was no relation to Cecilio Venegas.)

He wrote about the need of a revival in the churches⁸², and within a few years a great revival did come. It was felt first in Concepción in 1921⁸³ and then in Santiago the year after. The services were again accompanied by all kinds of demonstrations⁸⁴, including dances⁸⁵. These dances have recently been suppressed in some churches as unseemly, but in others they form a feature of the service, and usually take place during the singing of a hymn. In some churches a space is marked off for this purpose in front of the platform and the elders see to it that the dances and demonstrations are limited to this area⁸⁶, but other meetings are so crowded that this is impossible and the people dance in front of their seats. Many of the dances show a resemblance to those that accompany the Roman Catholic religious feasts in northern Chile, Bolivia and Peru. This fresh surge forward brought prosperity to the churches, and from that time on the financial straits of the pastors were over⁸⁷. By 1924 the First church had 16 groups and the Second church 8⁸⁸. Early in 1928 the First church succeeded in acquiring a large property on the same street as the meeting hall they had used since 1917⁸⁹.

The quantitative growth of these years was unfortunately not matched by a growth in quality. The whole movement became steadily more isolated, and this was certainly not because those outside made no attempt to establish contact. In 1916 or shortly afterwards Bishop Oldham of the M.E. church accompanied by Moisés Torregrosa paid a visit to Hoover. During the conversation Oldham invited Hoover to return to his mother church, but Hoover replied "the church would not understand us and would throw us out again"⁹⁰. For Hoover efforts at church union or co-operation were a waste of time which led to compromises⁹¹ and which kept people away from the essential work of saving souls⁹². He openly admitted that the policy of the Chilean Pentecostal church was "intransigence and complete isolation from the other churches. The least contact with them would hurt her"⁹³, Hoover did not advocate the reading of many books, because this led one astray, and he warned people against theology⁹⁴. It is, therefore, not surprising that after 1917 the quality of the magazine dropped and that the standard of preaching in the Pentecostal churches sometimes left much to be desired. Around

⁸² *Chile Pentecostal*, Valpo. mayo de 1917.

⁸³ *Bodas de Oro Pastorales*.

⁸⁴ Victor Pavéz's information.

⁸⁵ *El Heraldo Cristiano*, Stgo. 2 de octubre 1924.

⁸⁶ Brackenridge, *Pentecostal Progress in Chile*. *World Dominion*. Lon. Sept./Oct. 1951.

⁸⁷ Victor Pavéz Jr's information.

⁸⁸ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. diciembre de 1950.

⁸⁹ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Valpo. febrero de 1928.

⁹⁰ Moisés Torregrosa's recollection.

⁹¹ *Chile Pentecostal*, Valpo. enero de 1924.

⁹² *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Valpo. junio de 1932.

⁹³ Hoover, *Historia del Avivamiento*. p. 102.

⁹⁴ Victor Gatica's recollection.

the year 1930 Umaña preached a sermon in the big new church on the Jotabeche street in which he proclaimed: "Here we do not have literature, here we do not have theology, here we do not have learning, but only the Holy Spirit" ⁹⁵.

In 1917 Hoover became ill ⁹⁶ and in 1920 he went to the United States to be operated. While he was there his wife died ⁹⁷. He himself recovered and returned to Chile, but the Chileans noticed that he dragged his feet as he walked. Hoover was 63 years old and knew perhaps better than anyone that but, for his personal authority, the Pentecostal church would already have disintegrated ⁹⁸. While he was in the United States he contacted the Assemblies of God headquarters in Springfield, in the hope that they might be able to take over the Chilean work, but Hoover was told that he used too little water ⁹⁹. As related in the previous chapter Hoover invited Lief Erickson to Chile on the chance that he might be willing to take on the movement, but again the question of baptism proved to be the stumbling block ¹⁰⁰. Hoover considered this an important matter and shortly after Erickson's departure for Peru he wrote an article in Chile Pentecostal defending the practice of baptism by sprinkling ¹⁰¹. In an attempt to break out of his isolation and come closer to the North American movement he did accept the distinction between speaking in tongues as the initial sign of the baptism of the Spirit and speaking in tongues as a permanent gift ¹⁰², but this idea has not been widely accepted by the Chileans. In reality Hoover's plan of overcoming the internal rivalries by appointing as superintendent someone from outside the country, was doomed from the start by the resurgence of a spirit of nationalism within the Chilean movement.

e. The struggle for power

Hoover's principle of combining the greatest freedom of expression in the services with an authoritarian church government proved to be a great success while a superintendent remained at the head of the church who did not grasp after power, but such a system proved to be a great temptation for those who had not had any of his training and had risen to positions of responsibility from the very lowest strata of society. The senior Chilean pastor was Victor Pavéz Sr. whom Hoover had ordained as deacon in 1911 ¹⁰³ and as full presbyter in 1915 ¹⁰⁴. After

⁹⁵ Ernesto Uribe's recollection.

⁹⁶ Dänese's information.

⁹⁷ Gatica's information.

Chile Pentecostal, Valpo. marzo 1921.

⁹⁸ Webster Browning, John Ritchie and Kenneth Grubb, *The West Coast Republics of South America*. Lon. 1930. p. 29.

⁹⁹ Walter Erickson's information.

¹⁰⁰ Idem.

¹⁰¹ *Chile Pentecostal*, Valpo. agosto de 1925.

¹⁰² Idem. junio de 1926.

¹⁰³ *Chile Pentecostal*, Stgo. 15 de mayo 1911.

¹⁰⁴ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Valpo. febrero de 1929.

him came Umaña, whom Hoover had ordained as deacon in 1913¹⁰⁵, and as full presbyter in 1916¹⁰⁶. Already during Hoover's illness in 1917 rivalry started between Pavéz and Umaña about the leadership of the movement. Encouraged by the success of the work under Umaña's leadership, his supporters felt that he was the one to take over leadership from Hoover¹⁰⁷. The officials of the First and Second church came increasingly into conflict, till finally Hoover under the influence of the Spirit uttered a prophecy to the effect that there should be a reconciliation¹⁰⁸. In an effort to reach a solution it was decided at the conference held in Rancagua in January 1929, that Pavéz and Umaña should take turns in assisting Hoover in his work. Lots were cast and Pavéz was made Hoover's assistant for the year 1929, with the understanding that Umaña would be assistant in the year 1930¹⁰⁹. In July the boards of the two churches held a public reconciliation which culminated in the joint celebration of the Holy Communion¹¹⁰. However, the problem lay deeper and this reconciliation was only short-lived.

During Hoover's absence from Chile in 1921, Vicente Mendoza, who had been ordained around 1920¹¹¹, took charge of the church in Valparaíso. According to one account which is neither contradicted nor supported by the other, Mendoza discovered that he had gifts of healing and came to feel that he should be pastor of the church at Valparaíso instead of Hoover, so that when Hoover returned difficulties ensued and Mendoza was disciplined¹¹². Both sources agree that in 1922 Mendoza accused Hoover of homosexual practices before a meeting of church officials. These men must have felt that Mendoza's accusation was incorrectly motivated and expelled him from the church¹¹³. Mendoza then joined a group of six officials, who had left Umaña's church, because Umaña had refused to help people who were in need saying that the church was not a mutual aid society, and formed with them the "Iglesia Evangélica de los Hermanos" (The Evangelical Church of the Brethren). Later the church in Valparaíso broke away from the church in Santiago to form the "Iglesia Evangélica de los Hermanos Pentecostales" (the Evangelical Church of the Pentecostal Brethren). The group in Santiago which has retained the original name, has to-day three pastors and three group leaders¹¹⁴.

It is probable that Umaña's ambitions started because of the influence

¹⁰⁵ *Chile Pentecostal*, Stgo. julio-agosto 1964.

¹⁰⁶ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Valpo. febrero de 1929.

¹⁰⁷ Dănese's information.

¹⁰⁸ Gatica's recollection.

¹⁰⁹ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Valpo. febrero de 1929.

¹¹⁰ Idem. octubre de 1929.

¹¹¹ Narciso Benavides' information.

¹¹² Francisco Gonzalez's information.

¹¹³ Gonzalez and Benavides' information.

¹¹⁴ Benavides' information;
Vergara, Op. Cit. pp. 153 f.

of his own congregation upon him. But soon these ambitions took on a personal form. Pavéz Sr. was never a dominating personality and towards the end of his life his health was increasingly delicate. The result was that already in 1918 Umaña started to come into conflict with Hoover who was still the real authority in the movement ¹¹⁵. While Hoover was in the United States in 1921, Umaña suggested that he be asked to stay there, but other brethren firmly opposed this idea ¹¹⁶. In an effort to reduce the tensions Hoover started celebrating annual conferences which were attended by all the ordained pastors. The first such conference mentioned in the magazine took place in April 1925 with 12 pastors present, apart from Lief Erickson who was a visitor ¹¹⁷. Hoover started delegating some of his authority to this conference. In 1928 mention is made of two who were elected to the rank of presbyter and four who were elected to the office of deacon. Afterwards these men were officially ordained, presumably by Hoover ¹¹⁸. Unfortunately this attempt at democratization did not end the power struggle, but in some ways only encouraged it.

Umaña also started using the nationalistic issue in his opposition to Hoover ¹¹⁹. At the beginning of 1928 Hoover changed the name of the magazine from *Chile Pentecostal* to that of *Fuego de Pentecostés* (Pentecostal Fire). He gave as reason that the magazine would thereby gain more acceptance outside Chile ¹²⁰, but the writer cannot help feeling that Hoover was also trying to counteract the nationalistic tendencies in the Pentecostal movement in Chile itself. The basis for this nationalism lay in the struggle for power within the church, so that the appeals made against this nationalism did not help. At the same time Umaña found that the nationalistic issue was ineffective by itself against Hoover, who had become such a figure-head of the movement, that it almost impossible to dislodge him. On one occasion in 1929 Umaña was seen shaking his fists, while Hoover had his back turned, and muttering: "Este gringo" (This foreigner) ¹²¹.

In order to understand Umaña's attitude it must be remembered in the first place, that he was a victim of the autocratic system which Hoover had established, and in the second place that he was by no means speaking only for himself. Many leaders in the movement pleaded with the aged Hoover either to leave the superintendency to someone else, and to remain as pastor of the church in Valparaíso, or to leave the pastorate and stay on only as superintendent, but Hoover steadily refused ¹²². His age will have been a factor, but probably Hoover's

¹¹⁵ José Gomez's information.

¹¹⁶ Victor Gatica's recollection.

¹¹⁷ *Chile Pentecostal*, Valpo. junio de 1925.

¹¹⁸ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Valpo. febrero de 1928.

¹¹⁹ Victor Pavéz Jr. and Hector Faúndez's information.

¹²⁰ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Valpo. enero de 1928.

¹²¹ Gatica and Gonzalez's information.

¹²² Gonzalez and Ramón Yañez's information.

attitude was determined primarily by the fear that as soon as he let something go, chaos would follow. However, by putting off the moment Hoover only insured that the chaos when it did come, would be the greater. The spirit in the annual conferences became increasingly difficult¹²³, and although the 1932 conference was announced in the magazine, in contrast to the practice of the previous years, no report was given of it in the succeeding numbers. Accusations were raised against Hoover and after July 1932 the magazine of which he was the editor ceased to appear.

f. The great division

Hoover maintained a very strict discipline in the church in Valparaíso. During the Holy Week in 1932 some of the young people wished to go to the cinema or to attend sports, and Hoover forbade them¹²⁴. These young people then accused Hoover of immorality and Ramón Yañez, a schoolteacher who had been ordained deacon and assistant to Hoover in 1925¹²⁵, supported them. When Yañez passed the accusation on to Umaña and to the other pastors, Hoover temporarily handed the leadership of the church over to Umaña, who was assistant superintendent for that year according to the arrangement made in 1929, and asked to be judged by a tribunal of five presbyters¹²⁶. The charge against Hoover was not that he had gone so far as to have immoral relations, but that his behaviour gave cause for offence¹²⁷. It needs to be remembered that Carlos Ibañez del Campo had just held a campaign against the homosexuality which was centred especially in Valparaíso and that feelings were very sore on this point at the time¹²⁸.

The tribunal which finally consisted of Umaña as president and five other presbyters, met in Valparaíso from November 17 to 20¹²⁹. Hoover confessed that he was guilty of the charge¹³⁰, but the tribunal concluded that there were sufficient extenuating circumstances for him to be allowed to stay as pastor of the church in Valparaíso, should a majority of the congregation so wish¹³¹. This sentence was read to the congregation on Sunday, November 20¹³², and when the question was put to them, a young friend of Hoover grabbed one of the church officials by the middle, pushed him to a bench and told him to say that all those who

¹²³ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. mayo de 1933.

¹²⁴ Gonzalez's information.

¹²⁵ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Valpo, febrero de 1929.

¹²⁶ *Chile Pentecostal*, Chillan marzo de 1934.

¹²⁷ Yañez's recollection.

¹²⁸ Chavez's information.

¹²⁹ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. mayo de 1933.

¹³⁰ Yañez's recollection.

¹³¹ Gatica's recollection. In Nov. 1964 Gatica was the sole surviving member of this tribunal.

¹³² *Chile Pentecostal*, Chillan marzo de 1934.

wished Hoover to stay on, should answer with three shouts of "Glory to God". The congregation then responded with three stentorian cries¹³³. Umaña later complained that this procedure had unfairly influenced the congregation¹³⁴, but there can be little doubt that the majority of the congregation did continue to support Hoover. The sentence should have been signed then, but although Umaña was asked to do so, he suggested that this be done on the following day in the presence of the church officials¹³⁵. However, on the next day at the time promised it appeared that Umaña, together with two of the other presbyters had quietly departed for Santiago¹³⁶, with the result that the sentence could never receive a majority signature and so become valid.

At the next annual conference, which was held in the First church at Santiago from January 18 to 23, 1933¹³⁷, the point was immediately raised as to whether Hoover should be admitted. Someone then asked whether Hoover had sinned; "Yes", replied Umaña; "Let him then not come in", was the reply¹³⁸. The presidency of the conference in that case should have gone to Victor Pavéz Sr., but probably because it was known that he and Umaña were at loggerheads, Daniel Venegas, the next senior presbyter present at the meeting, was chosen to preside¹³⁹. The tribunal which had met in Valparaíso then went into session again and Hoover was made to repeat his confession¹⁴⁰. By a majority of four to two a new sentence was then made, excluding Hoover both from the superintendency as well as from the pastorate in Valparaíso¹⁴¹. A new pastor was appointed to Valparaíso; it was decided to start publishing the magazine under the old name *Chile Pentecostal*, and to reform the internal statutes of the church¹⁴². In an effort to resolve Hoover's position, Pavéz suggested that he be given a pension and the status of Counsellor of the church. A majority approved this motion¹⁴³, in spite of the fact that Umaña and especially Yañez opposed it¹⁴⁴.

The minutes of this conference never became valid because the conference secretary discovered that the minute-book had been removed from his possession during the conference, and he refused to sign the minutes when he received it back. Umaña on his own authority then

¹³³ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. junio de 1948.

¹³⁴ *Chile Pentecostal*, Chillan marzo de 1934;
Idem. Suplemento. junio/julio de 1935.

¹³⁵ Gatica's recollection.

¹³⁶ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. mayo de 1933.

¹³⁷ Idem. (*Chile Pentecostal* of March 1933 gives the date of the conference as Jan. 15, and *Chile Pentecostal* of April 1933 gives the date as Jan. 22. As these are two Sundays these dates are probably meant only as rough indications.)

¹³⁸ Gatica's recollection.

¹³⁹ *Chile Pentecostal*, Chillan marzo de 1933.

¹⁴⁰ Idem. Marzo de 1934;

Fuego de Pentecostés, Stgo. mayo de 1933.

¹⁴¹ *Chile Pentecostal*, Chillan marzo de 1933 y marzo de 1934.

¹⁴² *Chile Pentecostal*, Chillan marzo de 1933.

¹⁴³ *Chile Pentecostal*, Stgo. 12 de setiembre 1959.

¹⁴⁴ Gatica's recollection.

tried to call a new conference on January 24, that is the day after, on the grounds that Hoover had invested him with the superintendency and that this had been recognized by the tribunal in Valparaíso. Those who sympathized with Hoover pointed out that Umaña had been invested with the superintendency only for the time of the tribunal in Valparaíso, and that as that tribunal had not deprived Hoover of his functions, Umaña had no right to the superintendency afterwards¹⁴⁵. Those who supported Hoover did, therefore, not respond to Umaña's convocation on January 24, and this later was the ground for Umaña's assertion that a minority abandoned the conference¹⁴⁶. Umaña then tried to gain effective control of the movement by arranging that the first number of the new series of *Chile Pentecostal* carry a conference report which indicated that the superintendency had been divided into two and that Daniel Venegas was superintendent over the area south of Talca, while he, Umaña, was responsible of the vital area to the north¹⁴⁷. But Umaña was not yet editor of '*Chile Pentecostal*' and the next number, which appeared in April, carried an outright denial of the report in the first number. There was still only one superintendent of the conference, although he would now be helped in his duties by district superintendents. It was also pointed out that the name of the conference superintendent was not Umaña, but Daniel Venegas¹⁴⁸.

As a result of these events, an important group of pastors which included such senior men as Victor Pavéz Sr., Guillermo Castillo and Victor Gatica, became convinced that the accusations about Hoover's conduct were being used as a means to grab power. The real danger to the church lay not in the example that Hoover had given, but in Umaña's personal ambitions and in the unjust methods being used to achieve these ambitions. The group led by Pavéz and Castillo decided to start publishing the magazine '*Fuego de Pentecostés*' again, and in May 1933 a number appeared with a detailed report of the injustices committed by Umaña and his party and a declaration signed by eleven of the thirty-one national pastors, that as the conference in Santiago was invalid, they still considered Hoover to be their superintendent. Furthermore this group declared that as Hoover and Pavéz were the founders of the Pentecostal movement in Chile, they were the legitimate "Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal"¹⁴⁹. Umaña was thus obliged to protect his claim to the church properties, and this started a wrangle which dragged on for ten years.

Up to 1929 such church buildings as there were, had been inscribed in the name of the pastors. In that year the Chilean government recognized the rights of a holding body called the "Asociación de los Apoderados

¹⁴⁵ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. mayo de 1933.

¹⁴⁶ *Chile Pentecostal*, Stgo. 12 de setiembre 1959.

¹⁴⁷ *Chile Pentecostal*, Chillan marzo de 1933.

¹⁴⁸ *Chile Pentecostal*, Chillan abril de 1933.

¹⁴⁹ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. mayo de 1933.

de las Iglesias Metodistas Pentecostales en Chile" (the association of those empowered to act on behalf of the Pentecostal Methodist churches in Chile) ¹⁵⁰. The pastors were members of this association and no doubt Hoover was its first president. The conference held in Santiago at the beginning of 1933 tried to expel Hoover from this association ¹⁵¹, but the group which supported Hoover pointed out that according to the statutes a two-thirds majority was needed to expel anyone from the Association and that at no stage had those who wished to rid themselves of Hoover enjoyed such a majority ¹⁵². As the chance that Umaña's party would ever gain such a majority seemed to be increasingly remote, Umaña then tried to achieve his purpose by starting law-suits against Hoover ¹⁵³. These were unsuccessful, but a petition to have him expelled from the country on the grounds of his pernicious moral influence, was only frustrated by an appeal to the Supreme Court of Chile, which by 8 votes to 2 quashed the extradition order ¹⁵⁴.

Up to this moment Umaña had concentrated his attack on Hoover. He obviously hoped that after Hoover's elimination, the Chileans would be able to re-unite, but when some of Hoover's supporters accused the Association holding the properties of having acted illegally and declared under oath in the courts that no disciplinary action had ever been passed against Hoover, Umaña felt that he had to act against his compatriots as well. In November 1933 the Association held a meeting in Chillan at which it was decided to expel all those Chileans who supported Hoover ¹⁵⁵. Both groups were present for the last time at the annual conference which was held in January 1934 in San Bernardo ¹⁵⁶, but the differences proved to be irreconcilable ¹⁵⁷. In May of that year a meeting of the Association was held at Rancagua ¹⁵⁸, at which the clause in the statutes making it impossible for the association to dispose of properties without the written consent of the local congregation using that property was suppressed ¹⁵⁹, and in December 1934 Government approval was received for the new statutes ¹⁶⁰. In May 1935 Hoover's supporters started a court case against those that had taken over the Association ¹⁶¹, but in June 1936 a sentence was given which was favourable to Umaña and his party ¹⁶².

Almost immediately the Association proceeded to place a mortgage on the two large properties which had been built by Hoover in Valparaiso.

¹⁵⁰ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Valpo. junio de 1930.

¹⁵¹ *Chile Pentecostal*, Chillan marzo de 1933.

¹⁵² *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. mayo de 1933.

¹⁵³ Idem. abril de 1935.

¹⁵⁴ Idem. mayo de 1938.

¹⁵⁵ *Chile Pentecostal*, Chillan marzo de 1934.

¹⁵⁶ Idem. enero de 1934.

¹⁵⁷ Idem. marzo de 1934.

¹⁵⁸ Idem. julio de 1934.

¹⁵⁹ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. julio de 1936.

¹⁶⁰ *Chile Pentecostal*, marzo de 1935.

¹⁶¹ Idem. Stgo. enero de 1944.

¹⁶² *Chile Pentecostal*, Chillan junio de 1936.

Hoover had by this time died, but his supporters started a case against the legality of the decision taken in Rancagua which made it possible for the Association to mortgage property without the consent of the users ¹⁶³. This case dragged on endlessly till finally in April 1943 a sentence was given that the suppression of an article in the statutes at Rancagua was indeed illegal ¹⁶⁴. A stalemate had been reached and finally as a result of the personal intervention of a leading political figure in Chile ¹⁶⁵ an agreement was reached in November 1943, by which the buildings being used by Hoover's supporters were handed over to them in return for a payment which would cover the legal costs incurred by the Association ¹⁶⁶. The seemingly endless legal battles did have one positive result in that they served as a warning so that the later Pentecostal divisions were never fought out on such a low ethical level as this one.

g. Hoover's contribution to the missionary cause in Chile

It is not difficult to criticize Hoover's weaknesses. His spiritual pride ¹⁶⁷ and attitude of fanaticism at the time of the revival cost him many friends, but the blows he received later restored his basic humility. At the time of his visit to Peru in 1929 he sought contact with all kinds of people and left behind a fragrant memory of graciousness among those who came to know him ¹⁶⁸. The years from 1917 on to the time of his death in May 1936 ¹⁶⁹ were overshadowed by increasing troubles, for which he himself carried considerable responsibility, but it must be remembered that during this period he was a sick man. He held on to his power far too long, not because of any personal ambition, but because he had good reason to believe that many of those who were grasping after it were not fit for the responsibility. In 1933 he wrote a letter to William Strong Sr. admitting his guilt in the matter of immoral relations ¹⁷⁰, and there can be little doubt that for a number of years he deliberately tried to hide the truth about this matter, and yet if he did hide the truth it was not to save himself, but the church which he loved. According to one source Hoover admitted that he had contracted the homosexual habit as a student in the United States and never gave it up ¹⁷¹. Another source avers that he was being accused on this score even

¹⁶³ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. julio de 1936.

¹⁶⁴ Idem. abril de 1943.

¹⁶⁵ Juan Tapia's information. (The prominent Chilean referred to was either Arturo Alessandri or one of his brothers.)

¹⁶⁶ *Chile Pentecostal*, Stgo. 12 de setiembre de 1959;

Fuego de Pentecostés, Stgo. noviembre de 1943.

¹⁶⁷ Florence Smith's letter to Robert Speer dated Jan. 22, 1906 P.M.; Campbell's letter to Stuntz dated Oct. 31, 1910. Me.F. N.Y.

¹⁶⁸ Herbert Money's recollection.

¹⁶⁹ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. mayo de 1936.

¹⁷⁰ Andrew Stenhouse's letter to the writer dated July 6, 1966. Hoover's letter is in Stenhouse's possession in Stgo.

¹⁷¹ Ramon Yañez's information.

before the Pentecostal revival began ¹⁷². The writer has, however, been unable to discover grounds for believing that doubts were being entertained about Hoover's private life until after the death of his wife in 1921.

The lasting impression gained of Hoover is that he was basically sincere, loyal and absolutely ready to humble himself. He gave the Chileans real freedom to express themselves in their own way and to build up the only truly indigenous Protestant movement to be found either in Chile or Peru. At the same time his loyalty for his old church insured that the link with the past was not broken. In some ways Hoover departed from Wesley's position. Wesley felt that we should be more concerned with the fruits than with the gifts of the Spirit ¹⁷³, while in fact Hoover gave more attention to the gifts than to the fruits. Nevertheless Hoover maintained the essence of the Wesleyan tradition more faithfully than the Methodist missionaries who opposed him, and this has come to be recognized increasingly by the Methodists themselves ¹⁷⁴. The other lasting contribution which Hoover made to the cause of the Gospel is that he managed to communicate the missionary vision to the South Americans more successfully than anyone else mentioned in this study. In 1927 he started a training class for missionaries and evangelists in his own home ¹⁷⁵. By 1929 two couples set out for the Argentine ¹⁷⁶ and in the course of years the Chilean Pentecostals have built up a flourishing and fast growing work there ¹⁷⁷. More recently their activities have been extended to Paraguay ¹⁷⁸ and Uruguay.

¹⁷² Carlos Morán's information.

¹⁷³ Edward H. Sudgen, *Wesley's Standard Sermons*. Lon. 1955 ⁴ pp. 93 f.

¹⁷⁴ Marion Derby and James Ellis, *Latin American Lands in Focus*. N.Y. 1961. p. 100;
El Cristiano, Stgo. 23 de julio 1939 quoted in *Chile Cristiano*, Stgo. 31 de julio 1939.

¹⁷⁵ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. mayo de 1948.

¹⁷⁶ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Valpo. febrero de 1930.

¹⁷⁷ *Practical Anthropology*, May/June 1961. p. 97.

¹⁷⁸ William Flagg's information.

THE GROWTH OF PENTECOSTALISM IN CHILE

a. The Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal under Umaña's leadership

Under Umaña this denomination became more typically Chilean than ever it had been in Hoover's time. Umaña asked Genaro Ríos, a very popular musical artist who had joined the Jotabeche church in 1930¹, to form a church band. Ríos set the words of existing hymns to typically Chilean tunes and introduced his musical accompaniments into the services in 1931². The rhythmical melodies encouraged the people to dance and accentuated the popular character of the movement, but tended to obscure the words of the hymns being sung. Umaña also organized the vote of his church members so that the politicians were obliged to take note of the Pentecostal church. Umaña's greatest contribution to his church was, however, the firm and continuous leadership which he gave it and the way in which he kept in check the ambitions of those under him. Although his leadership gave rise to acute problems, the other pastors usually showed great loyalty in not sharing these problems with their congregations or even with their church boards³. At the level of the local church, therefore, Umaña's leadership gave the rest needed for solid growth. At the time of the division in 1933 about 100 churches and groups stayed with the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal, but by 1954 the number of churches had risen to 615⁴ and by 1964 the total stood at 862⁵.

It was inevitable that tension should arise between the spiritual and popular aspect of the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal and in 1936 the annual conference decided to expel Genaro Ríos and his two brothers from membership⁶. The Ríos brothers then formed the "Ejército Evangélico de Chile" (the Evangelical Army of Chile⁷) which superficially resembles the Salvation Army, but does not engage in a programme of social assistance as does the international body. The "Ejército Evangélico de Chile" also differs from the Salvation Army in that in many

¹ Ignacio Vergara, *El Protestantismo en Chile*. Stgo. 1962³. p. 154.

² Victor Gatica's information.

³ Hector Faúndez's information.

⁴ Vergara, *Op. Cit.* p. 121.

⁵ *Chile Pentecostal*, Stgo. abril/mayo de 1964.

⁶ *Chile Pentecostal*, abril de 1936.

⁷ Vergara, *Op. Cit.* p. 155.

cases its spiritual quality has been sacrificed for the sake of its popular appeal. In the course of the years there have been a series of divisions, so that at present there are at least four Evangelical armies in Chile⁸. Umaña emphasized the spiritual side of the work more than Ríos, but for a long time he too failed to recognize his church's responsibility in social matters. He told those of his members who came asking for help that the church was not a bureau of social assistance and insisted that the tithes of members had to be used exclusively for the support of the pastors so that only the free-will offerings could be used to help the poor⁹. This attitude provoked discontent among many of Umaña's church members and led to several divisions from the Jotabeche church¹⁰. Towards the end of his life Umaña started to care more actively for the poor and recently Pentecostal leaders in Chile have come to realize that the spiritual and popular aspects of their movement can only be kept in balance if due weight is given to the church's social task.

Umaña's personal ambition to become the absolute leader of the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal was a more serious source of tension. The reaction against Hoover's sincere, but mistaken, wish to remain superintendent for as long as possible was at first a great obstacle to Umaña's designs. In order to prevent another superintendent from staying too long it was arranged that he should be re-elected every three years¹¹. At the beginning of 1935 Domingo Taucan was chosen by lot as general superintendent¹², but when in the course of that year Hoover's supporters started a lawsuit against the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal, Taucan felt that he lived too far from the capital to be able to attend to the affair and handed this part of his responsibility over to Umaña¹³. The successful conclusion of this case in June of the following year enormously enhanced Umaña's prestige¹⁴ and he cleverly used this to strengthen further the atmosphere of sanctity which he had built up around his own person¹⁵. On July 3, 1937 Umaña was made pastor of the Jotabeche church for life¹⁶, and in October of the same year he was made editor of the magazine. Umaña changed its name to *Chile Cristiano*, but after about three years it reverted to its old name *Chile Pentecostal*¹⁷. At the beginning of 1938, after Taucan's period of office had

⁸ Luis Alvarez's information. Alvarez was secretary of the Chilean Evangelical Council in 1964;

Juan Dănese's information.

⁹ Alvarez's information.

¹⁰ Vergara, Op. Cit. pp. 158-169.

¹¹ *Chile Cristiano*, Stgo. marzo de 1938.

¹² *Chile Pentecostal*, marzo de 1935.

¹³ Enrique Chavez's information.

¹⁴ *Chile Pentecostal*, junio de 1936.

¹⁵ Enrique Chavez's recollection.

¹⁶ *Chile Pentecostal*, julio de 1937.

¹⁷ *Chile Cristiano*, Stgo. octubre de 1937.

expired, the annual conference made Umaña General Superintendent for the next three years ¹⁸.

Unhappily Umaña's ambition did not allow him to rest till he had the movement completely in his power. The annual conference held at the beginning of 1941 re-elected him as superintendent for a further term, but with the help of another pastor he managed to change the minutes so as to make it appear that he had been elected superintendent for life. The conference secretary, not suspecting the change, then signed these minutes ¹⁹. Umaña, who as superintendent was also president of the legal holding body for the church properties, insisted that his colleagues transfer properties still in their name to the holding body. Pastors with church buildings inscribed in their own name could at any moment declare themselves independent, but once the buildings had been inscribed, they had to respect the wishes of the associates of the holding body or risk eviction. When it became known that several of the most important properties in Santiago were still registered in Umaña's own name ²⁰, four of the senior pastors, Daniel Venegas, Domingo Taucan, Manuel García and Ramón Yañez threatened to make use of their right to have the holding body dissolved unless Umaña also complied with the rules ²¹. Umaña then used the falsified minute that declared that he had been elected superintendent for life, as well as other arguments, to convince the other pastors that the four men in question were acting capriciously ²² and had them expelled from the association before they could carry out their threat. Venegas, Taucan and García then left their church buildings and went over to Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal together with their congregations and most of their circuits ²³. Yañez set up a separate church in Valparaíso which still continues although it has remained very small ²⁴.

The last important division on this issue took place in 1946 when Enrique Chavez, who had been Umaña's assistant, started sponsoring reforms which would insure that all properties were registered in the name of the holding body. He also wished to establish a proper system of accountancy for the church's finances and to introduce the practice of re-electing the superintendent every two years. At a meeting a majority voted in favour of Chavez's proposals, but Umaña successfully contested the decision because according to Chilean law, statutory reforms are only valid if the proceedings have been witnessed by a notary public ²⁵. While Chavez was trying to call a fresh meeting, Umaña

¹⁸ Idem. marzo de 1938.

¹⁹ Victor Gatica and Francisco Gonzalez's information.

²⁰ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. diciembre de 1942;
Enrique Chavez's recollection.

²¹ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. diciembre de 1942;
Chavez's recollection.

²² Gatica's information.

²³ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. enero/febrero de 1943.

²⁴ Chavez's information.

²⁵ Idem.

managed to influence the majority by making accusations against Chavez²⁶. Chavez was then expelled at a meeting to which he was summoned by telegram but was unable to reach in time²⁷. For a time the opposition to Umaña was broken and in February 1950 his ambitions were fulfilled. The office of General Superintendent was then abolished and Umaña was made a bishop, a position from which he could not be removed except by his own consent²⁸.

Umaña's personal and political behaviour was a third source of tension. Towards the end of 1963 two hundred members of the Jotabeche church were expelled for having criticized him²⁹. A communist paper then published reports that Umaña had twelve illegitimate children³⁰, that eleven church properties were still registered in his name³¹, and that in return for having encouraged his church members to vote for certain politicians, he had since 1960 received considerable government subsidies. These subsidies were ostensibly given for the social activities of the various churches, but this paper charged that Umaña had received monies on behalf of non-existent churches and that certain of the activities named in the government forms, such as maternity clinics, also did not exist³². Some of Umaña's supporters denied the charges³³, but Umaña himself kept silent and the writer did not meet any church leader in Santiago who seriously doubted the truth of the above-mentioned accusations. In February 1964 Umaña accused the other directors of the corporation holding the church properties of plotting to oust him and had them all expelled. Finally at the beginning of August 1964 at the age of 82 years, Umaña died³⁴.

Umaña's ability to maintain his position in spite of most damaging revelations can only be explained by the simple church member's need of a figure-head and by the undoubted good he did for the movement during its formative years. While the writer observed that the ordinary member still venerated Umaña's memory, he also heard that the leaders of the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal had come to the conclusion that it was a great mistake to allow the pastor of the central church to be the bishop of the whole denomination³⁵. In November 1964 Javier Vasquez was made the new pastor of the Jotabeche church and early next year the annual conference appointed Mamerto Mansilla, the pastor in Temuco, as the new bishop. Mansilla is much respected even outside his

²⁶ Vergara, Op. Cit. p. 163.

²⁷ Alvarez's information.

²⁸ *Chile Pentecostal*, Stgo. 12 de setiembre de 1959;
Idem. julio/agosto de 1964.

²⁹ *Vistazo*, Stgo. 17 de diciembre 1963.

³⁰ *Idem.* 10 de diciembre 1963.

³¹ *Idem.* 24 de diciembre 1963.

³² *Vistazo*, Stgo. 10 de diciembre 1963;
Ultimas Noticias, Stgo. sábado, 21 de noviembre 1964.

³³ *El Mercurio*, Stgo. 11 de diciembre 1963.

³⁴ *Chile Pentecostal*, Stgo. julio/agosto de 1964.

³⁵ Oscar Guzman's information.

own denomination ³⁶ and there is good hope that the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal will emerge from this trial refined and strengthened. It must also be remembered that church leaders such as Chavez, who make no attempt to excuse Umaña's behaviour, are nevertheless convinced that his influence on the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal was more for good than for evil. That such a conclusion is possible in spite of the scandals mentioned above shows that at a certain stage in its development firm and stable government was even more important to this church than ethical leadership. Had this situation continued, then the writer believes that the church would soon have been ruined, but the very fact that such a situation was possible, even temporarily, shows that the missionaries who insist that the ethical standards to which they have become accustomed in their home churches must immediately be reproduced in the young churches in South America, may be making a big mistake.

b. The Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal

After the eleven pastors who continued to support Hoover had published their declaration in the first number of *Fuego de Pentecostés* to appear after Hoover had given up the editorship, it was fairly clear that a division would have to follow. Any lingering doubts on this score were dispelled when the meeting at Chillan in November 1933 of the Association holding the titles to the church properties, expelled these eleven pastors from its membership ³⁷. Because these pastors did not recognize the legality of their expulsion, all the pastors met for the last time at the annual conference held at San Bernardo in January 1934 ³⁸. Basically Hoover's supporters were protesting against the methods used by the other party, but because they refused to drop Hoover as their figure-head and because by this time they were unwilling to accept any form of leadership from Umaña ³⁹, the dispute did not rise above a struggle for power which largely obscured the underlying issue. In order to support their claim to the church properties, Hoover's supporters for some time continued to consider themselves the true Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal ⁴⁰. But in April 1935 the development of the work obliged them to hold their first separate, annual conference. Hoover was too infirm to attend and the conference elected Guillermo Castillo as assistant superintendent, as well as ordaining new candidates to the ministry ⁴¹. After Hoover's death on May 27, 1936 ⁴², Castillo was made superintendent ⁴³. In June 1940 the Chilean government granted this

³⁶ Douglas Milmine's letter to the writer, dated April 3, 1965.

³⁷ *Chile Pentecostal*, Chillan marzo de 1934.

³⁸ Idem, enero de 1934.

³⁹ Gatica's information.

⁴⁰ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. mayo de 1933.

⁴¹ Idem, abril de 1935.

⁴² Idem, mayo de 1936.

⁴³ Idem, junio de 1936.

new church the right to hold property⁴⁴, and at this time the name Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal came into general use⁴⁵.

By 1937 this new church started to expand rapidly⁴⁶, and although it has always been a little smaller than its rival the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal, it is at present by a very big margin the second largest Protestant church in Chile. Both these churches have tended to exaggerate their membership⁴⁷, but it is probably true to say that the Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal is by itself larger than all the non-Pentecostal Protestant churches in Chile put together. By 1954 it had 494 churches and groups, and in 1960 this total had grown to 611⁴⁸. It has remained true both to the positive and negative aspects of Hoover's vision. It has been the most active of the Chilean Pentecostal churches in prosecuting foreign missionary work, and by 1960 it had succeeded in establishing a total of 35 churches and groups in the Argentine, Bolivia, Peru and Uruguay⁴⁹.

In common with other Pentecostal churches in Chile it has trained its ministry by an apprenticeship system, but whereas the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal until very recently entrusted the appointment of all ordained ministers to a small directorate which was presided and controlled by one man, the Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal has maintained the more democratic system instituted by Hoover in 1928. Ministerial candidates have first to be approved by the annual conference, before they can be ordained⁵⁰. The General Superintendent is responsible to the conference and when he dies or has to retire because of ill health, the annual conference elects a successor. The Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal is, therefore, governed autocratically within the local church, but democratically at higher levels. It has avoided the concentration of power right at the top, which has caused so many difficulties in the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal, but has given more power to the local pastor. The result is that the struggle for power has often been transferred to the churches themselves and this may explain why some of the Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal churches give the impression of being less solid than their Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal counterparts⁵¹.

Hoover's emphasis on Bible teaching has continued to influence the Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal churches, at least in the Santiago area, but so has his puritanical attitude towards sports and the cinema, and his avoidance of any outside co-operation. These churches never adopted

⁴⁴ *Chile Pentecostal*, Stgo. enero de 1944.

⁴⁵ *Fuego de Pentecostés*, Stgo. febrero de 1941.

⁴⁶ Idem. Stgo. febrero de 1937.

⁴⁷ Juan Dänese's information;

Vergara, Op. Cit. pp. 121 and 245 f.

⁴⁸ Vergara, Op. Cit. pp. 122.

⁴⁹ Idem.

⁵⁰ José Gomez's information. Gomez was pastor of the Sargento Aldea church in Stgo. in 1964.

⁵¹ Douglas Milmine's observation based on his experience in southern Chile. The writer does not believe that this observation applies to the Stgo. area.

the musical accompaniments which Genaro Ríos introduced into the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal, and they even stopped using an organ, so that to-day their hymn singing is led only by a choir. In the early days dancing during the services was common and a visitor to the main Santiago church on the Sargento Aldea street remembers seeing over-enthusiastic worshippers battering the altar rail, upsetting the pulpit or holding imaginary boxing duels with the devil, while others with their trousers rolled up ran the good race up and down the aisles⁵². Such excesses soon brought a reaction and already in 1932 some people separated from the Sargento Aldea congregation to form a new church because they did not feel that such dances could be in accord with the spirit of the Bible⁵³. Since then dances have been stopped in the main Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal churches, although they do still occur in some of the smaller outlying congregations⁵⁴.

The greater autonomy of the Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal pastors has meant that there were more troubles within the local churches when the time came to replace them than in similar churches of the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal. Pavéz Sr.'s death in 1933 was followed by a division from the Sargento Aldea church in Santiago⁵⁵. In 1949, when a later pastor of this same church became seriously ill, a period of severe instability followed, which gave rise to two divisions⁵⁶. In 1951 Arturo Espinoza, after being rebuked for holding a street collections on behalf of some of the groups connected with the Sargento Aldea church, declared himself independent and formed the "Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal"⁵⁷. In the following year another group which included Pavéz Jr. broke away from the Sargento Aldea congregation itself and formed themselves into the "Misión Iglesia Pentecostal". One of the reasons for this second split was dissatisfaction with the Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal's policy of non-cooperation with other Christian bodies⁵⁸, and the desire for certain other reforms⁵⁹, but the report published by the dissident group at the time makes it clear the chief reason for the division was disagreement about the way the new pastor had been appointed⁶⁰. Two more divisions of the Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal have taken place around Concepción in southern Chile. In both cases the leadership of local congregations was at stake although one of the separating bodies also disagreed with the prohibition of the use of musical instruments in the services⁶¹.

⁵² Juan Dänese's recollection.

⁵³ Vergara, Op. Cit. pp. 171 f.

⁵⁴ Juan Dänese's information.

⁵⁵ Vergara, Op. Cit. p. 172.

⁵⁶ Declaración de los Hermanos afectados por los hechos ocurridos en la Iglesia de Sargento Aldea. Mimeographed paper in Pavéz Jr.'s possession in Stgo.

⁵⁷ Victor Gatica's recollection;
Francisco Gonzalez's information.

⁵⁸ Luis Alvarez's information.

⁵⁹ *Christian Century*, N.Y. Sept. 28, 1960. p. 1118.

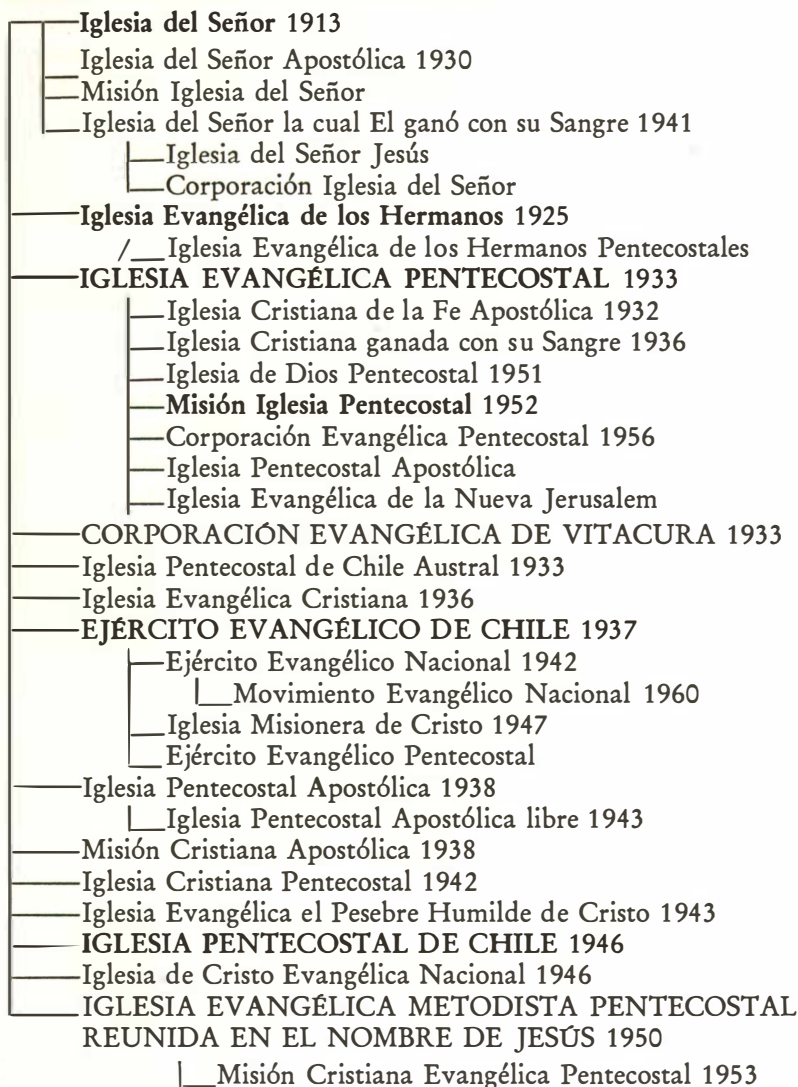
⁶⁰ Declaración de los hermanos . . . document in possession of Pavéz Jr.

⁶¹ Vergara, Op. Cit. p. 172.

c. A diagram of some of the Pentecostal divisions in Chile

The number of Pentecostal splits in Chile is so great as to make any full description long-winded and confusing. The diagram which follows includes all the important divisions and some of the unimportant ones. Ignacio Vergara mentions the existence of an additional twelve small groups ⁶², and there are certainly more. The names of large churches are printed in capital letters and names of churches of which some description is given in the next are printed in heavy type.

IGLESIA METODISTA PENTECOSTAL 1910



⁶² Vergara, Op. Cit. p. 173.

If the Corporación Evangélica de Vitacura is counted as a split both from the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal and from the Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal then the former church has given rise to fourteen divisions and the latter to eight. If the longer history of the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal is then eliminated as a factor by counting only those splits that have arisen after 1933, these figures become nine and six respectively. This shows that relative to their size these two denominations have shown a comparable propensity for creating divisions. Not included in the above diagram are the "Asambleas de Dios" which have arisen in Chile as a result of the labour of North American Assemblies of God missionaries. The first of these missionaries arrived in Chile in 1941 with the intention of co-operating with the indigenous Pentecostal movement, but found that the differences were too great. In 1950 the Asambleas de Dios were organized on a separate basis, and by 1962 they had 36 churches and a regular church attendance of 3000 ⁶³. Before passing on to a general review of the Chilean Pentecostal movement it is necessary to examine two of the above-mentioned divisions, because of their interest with regard to church unity and a new approach to the training of the ministry.

d. The Iglesia Pentecostal de Chile

When Enrique Chavez was expelled from the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal in 1946, many of his own congregation in Curicó, to the south of Santiago, went with him to found the "Iglesia Pentecostal de Chile". It may be that some people who had broken away from the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal at an earlier date also joined the new church and that this explains why some sources indicate that the Iglesia Pentecostal de Chile was founded in 1941 ⁶⁴ or 1942 ⁶⁵. Chavez is better educated than most of the Pentecostal pastors and he has been able to give a leadership which was firm and yet enlightened with the result that the new church has grown rapidly. By 1959, including a very large central church in Curicó, the new denomination had 136 churches and groups scattered throughout Chile ⁶⁶. The curious thing is that although this new church has been lastingly influenced by the reaction against the abuses of Umaña's rule, yet it has made Chavez superintendent for life ⁶⁷ and conferred on him powers which are virtually those of a bishop ⁶⁸. That this happened in spite of Chavez's warning to the members of the

⁶³ *Chile*. Folder published by the Assemblies of God, Springfield, Missouri. s.a.; Norman Eddy, A movement of the Holy Spirit. Mimeographed paper dated Nov. 1963.

⁶⁴ Douglas Webster, *Patterns of part-time Ministry in some churches in South America*. Lon. 1964.

⁶⁵ Vergara, Op. Cit. p. 163.

⁶⁶ Idem.

⁶⁷ Chavez's information.

⁶⁸ Webster, Op. Cit.

possible consequences shows that the churches outside Santiago, where the Iglesia Pentecostal de Chile is chiefly represented, were only marginally affected by the problems related to the way in which Umaña governed his church.

The fact that wide powers have been conferred upon Chavez for life, also illustrates the need which is felt by many humble members of the Pentecostal churches, not only for strong government, but also for a figure-head. David Brackenridge, who for many years after Hoover's death was the only foreigner allowed into any of the Chilean Pentecostal churches ⁶⁹, has given the following description of the pastor's position in these churches: "It is astonishing to note the care and reverence the people show towards their pastor. Everything is done for him. Besides monetary support, members bring gifts of meat, vegetables and fruit. His table is usually full. He entertains lavishly and no member is turned away who is in need. But it must be said that the pastor controls everything – finances and all the activities. Nothing is done without his consent" ⁷⁰. It is, therefore, unrealistic to attribute all the internal problems of these churches to the ambitions of the leaders. Too often a pastor has been suspected of personal ambition when in reality he has only been acting as the representative of his people.

In 1958 the initiative taken by the Church World Service and the Lutheran World Relief organizations to establish social work in Chile, led to an important development. Theodoor Tschuy, who was in charge of the project, came into contact with Victor Pavéz Jr., who was by then the leader of the Misión Iglesia Pentecostal, and with Enrique Chavez of the Iglesia Pentecostal de Chile. Tschuy was agreeably surprised to find that these two young and relatively small Pentecostal churches were very anxious for co-operation with other Christian bodies ⁷¹. In common with many, if not most, of the church leaders in Chile and Peru, Chavez and Pavéz do not share the horror for church division which is usually felt in ecumenical circles. In fact both believe that division has helped the astonishing growth of the Pentecostal churches in Chile more than it has hindered it. Nevertheless Chavez and Pavéz realized that social help was an indispensable part of their church programme and that this could not be effected except on a united basis. Furthermore they were very anxious to break out of the isolation which was a less fortunate aspect of Hoover's legacy to the Chilean Pentecostal churches. As a result of Tschuy's advocacy and of a visit which Chavez and Pavéz paid to the United States, the Iglesia Pentecostal de Chile and the Misión Iglesia Pentecostal decided to join the World Council of Churches and were received as members at the meeting in

⁶⁹ William Austin's information. Austin is United Bible Societies agent in Santiago.

⁷⁰ David C. Brackenridge, Pentecostal Progress in Chile, *World Dominion*. Lon. Sept./Oct. 1951.

⁷¹ *Christian Century*, N.Y. Sept. 28, 1960. p. 1118.

New Delhi ⁷². Although these two churches represent perhaps only 10 % of the Pentecostal movement in Chile, nevertheless their example has been important and recently the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal has joined the Chilean Evangelical Council ⁷³.

e. The Misión Iglesia Pentecostal

The 120 members which broke away from the Sargento Aldea church in 1952 were able to build their first church two years later. In the same year Victor Pavéz Jr. entered the ministry and went to Buenos Aires to start missionary work there. In the meantime the work in Santiago progressed and preaching points started springing up around the central church. In 1956 Pavéz was replaced in Buenos Aires by another Chilean missionary and invited to take charge of the work in Santiago. Since then the work has continued to progress, so that by 1960 the new denomination had 2000 members ⁷⁴, and three years later it had 18 churches and 40 groups ⁷⁵, with a total membership of over 10,000 ⁷⁶. The importance of this church lies in the fact that it has maintained the general programme common to all the native Pentecostal churches in Chile, but has introduced wide reforms into its own organization and sought earnestly to bring the traditional programme into line with the needs of present day Chilean society.

In the Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal, for instance, the organized evangelistic outreach is still confined to open air preaching on the Sunday afternoon. At the Sunday school, which is held in the morning, volunteers are asked to go to one of a number of places specified. At each place a group is formed under leadership of one of the pastor's assistants and this group then holds a series of open air meetings at which everyone is asked to give a word. Each move brings the group nearer to the central church, till at last the groups coalesce and march in a singing procession to the church, where they proceed to the altar rail, offer up a prayer, and after shouting "Glory to God" three times in union go back to take their seats. The sight of people marching in long columns to church is most impressive. Many people throw open their windows to look and listen, while the good-natured bus drivers caught in the resulting traffic jams wait for the procession to pass, but the open-air meetings themselves do not attract attention in the same way. On the afternoon that the writer accompanied a group of volunteers, not one person even stopped to listen. What was said by these volunteers was certainly very uninteresting. Pavéz has come to the conclusion that a new approach to corporate evangelism is needed rather than improvements to the old method.

⁷² Idem. Jan. 31. 1962. p. 147.

⁷³ Dana Green's information.

⁷⁴ Theo Tschuy, "Shock Troops in Chile". *Christian Century*, Sept. 28, 1960. p. 1118.

⁷⁵ *Sembrando*, (Organ of the Misión Iglesia Pentecostal). Stgo. noviembre de 1963.

⁷⁶ Webster, Op. Cit.

Pavéz has divided his congregation in Santiago into five groups. One group is mounted on bicycles and works all day Sunday visiting fresh areas of the metropolis holding open air services, visiting homes and even mental institutions. All interested people are put in touch with the nearest Evangelical church, and new preaching points are only established where they are needed. Another group consists of middle-aged people with greater experience, who make journeys by rail and bus to other towns. They often help pastors of other denominations in their evangelistic work. There is also a youth group which, besides street preaching and jail visitation, gives choral presentations and helps to establish educational programmes in newly opened preaching stations. There is also a small group which specializes in children's evangelism and finally the remaining group, which is also much the largest, undertakes street services near the church, as well as all kinds of social work. Some teach the women in the church to read and write, to cook, to sew, to look after babies and also the beginnings of first-aid. Others collect and repair clothing, nurse the sick and visit the dying. A considerable programme of food and clothing distribution is also undertaken in connection with A.C.E., the welfare organization set up in Chile by the Church World Service and Lutheran World Relief to which reference has already been made ⁷⁷.

Pavéz has, therefore, not abandoned street preaching, but has shifted the emphasis so that the church's responsibility for social assistance and inter-denominational co-operation are more adequately represented in the evangelistic programme. This example is also having its effect on the other Pentecostal churches in Chile. Whereas Brackenridge writing in 1951 praised the Pentecostal churches in Chile for their evangelistic fervour, but had to admit that "they have never branched out into some other activity such as educational or medical work" ⁷⁸, now even some churches which have no connection with the World Council of Churches are co-operating fruitfully with A.C.E. in its work of social assistance.

Pavéz has also started to reform the government of the church. The annual conference of the Misión Iglesia Pentecostal is now attended by a lay delegate from each church instead of being a meeting only of pastors as is the case in the other indigenous Pentecostal churches. Furthermore the pastor is no longer entirely free in the choice of his assistants. He is free to choose his own church board, but after that, until that board is due for renewal, all other appointments in his church such as the Sunday school superintendent and the leader of the youth work must be made by the board together with the pastor. This also applies to the appointment of leaders at the various preaching points. There is now a proposal that a certain number of the board members be elected by the various assistants in the church instead of all the appoint-

⁷⁷ *Christian Century*, Sept. 28, 1960. p. 1118.

⁷⁸ Brackenridge, "Pentecostal Progress in Chile", *World Dominion*. Lon. Sept./Oct. 1951.

ments being made by the pastor as at present ⁷⁹. The government of the Misión Iglesia Pentecostal is by no means democratic, because the ordinary church member has no vote at all, but it is interesting to see how the principle of collective responsibility is gradually being extended downwards. The Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal began the process by establishing democratic principles in its annual conference, and the Misión Iglesia Pentecostal is now trying to introduce the same principles among the leadership group of the local church.

Finally both Chavez of the Iglesia Pentecostal de Chile and Pavéz of the Misión Iglesia Pentecostal are trying to reform the apprenticeship system hitherto used to raise up a ministry for these churches. A volunteer who does good work in the evangelistic programme will almost certainly be recommended to his pastor for some definite appointment. If the volunteer is connected with an outlying preaching point, the appointment is made by the leader of that preaching point in consultation with the pastor of the central church (consultation with pastor and the central church board in the case of the Misión Iglesia Pentecostal). If the appointee again does well it is likely that his pastor will eventually recommend him to the annual conference for ordination as a probationary deacon. At this point he is expected to lay down his secular work and to devote himself full-time to the Lord's service. After serving a term as probationary deacon he becomes full deacon and, if he still continues to do well, is then ordained as full presbyter.

This apprenticeship training has three great advantages. Firstly, that workers cannot be educated beyond the point at which they can still serve as effective pastors to the communities in which they were raised⁸⁰. Secondly, that the work is not hampered in its development by a lack of leadership as so often happens in churches with a different type of training. Thirdly, apprenticeship training teaches people to give themselves before they become accustomed to receiving. At a Bible school or seminary, students first learn to receive, and the experience in Peru and Chile indicates that later, when they are expected to start giving, many find the transition difficult and do not persevere in the ministry. A disadvantage of the apprenticeship system could be that a pastor might not give a young person the promotion he or she deserved, but in practice this difficulty hardly seems to have arisen in Chile. A far more serious disadvantage is that the apprenticeship system does not provide a means of raising the level of the workers' education so as to keep pace with the rising standard of education especially among the young people in Peru and Chile. For this reason Chavez and Pavéz decided to co-operate with the Anglicans, Methodists and Presbyterians in starting an experimental Theological Community in Santiago. Pavéz is deter-

⁷⁹ Victor Pavéz Jr.'s information.

⁸⁰ Norman Eddy, A. Movement of the Holy Spirit – Pentecostalism in Chile. Nov. 1963. (Eddy is here quoting Chavez's opinion).

mined that this community shall combine the advantages of apprenticeship training with the benefice of theological study.

f. The role of division in the growth of Chilean Pentecostalism

No other churches considered in this thesis have had so many divisions and such growth as the indigenous Pentecostal churches in Chile. In 1929 Pentecostal membership was estimated to be 10,000⁸¹ and the total Pentecostal community was thought to represent a third of the overall Protestant community of 62,000 at that time⁸². The troubles that followed halted Pentecostal progress for some years⁸³, but subsequently growth was resumed at an ever increasing rate, and in 1961 Eugene Nida estimated that the Pentecostal churches were four times as large as all the other Protestant denominations put together⁸⁴. Estimates as to the size of the Protestant community in Chile at that time vary from 403,000⁸⁵ to 803,000⁸⁶, but Vergara's figure of 620,000 is probably the best approximation⁸⁷. Whatever the true figure, these authorities agree on Nida's estimate of the proportion of Pentecostals to other Protestants, so that between 1929 and 1961 the Pentecostal community in Chile increased approximately twenty-four times.

As stated above, the division between the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal and the Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal in 1933 had an adverse effect on growth, but this cannot be said of the later divisions. In the 1933 division Umaña was trying to take over the leadership of the movement, while his opponents were striving to maintain Hoover's position. Ethical issues became overshadowed by a struggle for power which undermined the authority of the recognized leaders and temporarily left the movement without adequate authority or reasonable ethical standards. The later divisions were based more on matters of principle and consequently did less harm to the authority of the established leaders. Most of these later divisions were provoked, not by attempts to assume power, but by the increasingly urgent demand for justice in the administration of the church and such struggles for power as did arise were related to differences of opinion about this demand. The effect was, therefore, not only to oblige many new people to take part in the ministry, but also to give opportunities for an improvement in the standard of practical holiness. Many of the newer Pentecostal

⁸¹ Webster Browning and Others, *The West Coast Republics of South America*. Lon. 1930. p. 29.

⁸² Vergara, Op. Cit. p. 246;

John A. Mackay, *El Otro Español*. Mexico 1952. p. 245.

⁸³ *Supplement to the West Coast Republics of South America*. Lon. 1938.

⁸⁴ *Practical anthropology*, May/June 1961. p. 97.

⁸⁵ A Statistical Study of Latin America. Commission on Ecumenical Missions and Relations of the United Presbyterian Church in U.S.A. Nov. 1, 1961. p. 38.

⁸⁶ *Christianity Today*, Wash. D.C. July 19, 1963. p. 15. (quoting the *World Christian Handbook* of 1962)

⁸⁷ Vergara, Op. Cit. pp. 247 f.

denominations in Chile do indeed represent an advance in quality and their example has stimulated the tendency to reform among the older groups, so that schism has often been followed by sanctification.

g. The role of nationalism in Chilean Pentecostalism

In 1909 the Methodist missionaries in Santiago were too ready to impose their own views on how the Holy Spirit should operate in revival and consequently the early Pentecostal movement developed a nationalistic character. The Methodist missionaries were right in many things, but they did not realize that the Holy Spirit often has to teach us by allowing us to make our own mistakes. Hoover in Valparaiso did allow the Chileans to make their own mistakes and his very willingness to deny his previously held convictions became an example to them. Hoover did not hand over his authority to the Chileans in the way advocated by supporters of "indigenous principles", but tried to place both himself and the Chileans without distinction under the authority of the Spirit. The result was that without seeking it, he gained such authority that for many years he remained the undisputed leader of the movement and was able to insure that the positive desire to express the Gospel in a typically Chilean way was given considerable scope, while the anti-foreign tendencies were at the same time kept in check. Unhappily towards the end of his life Hoover became disturbed at the ambitions that began to manifest themselves in certain of the national leaders and made the same mistake as his Methodist colleagues in 1909.

The personal ambitions which so embittered the relationships in the 1933 division would have led to splits in any case, but if Hoover had stepped down in 1923 on reaching his sixty-fifth year and had given the superintendency to Pavéz Sr., Umaña would not have been able to further his aims by making use of the nationalistic issue. The result would have been that the basic ethical issues underlying the Pentecostal divisions in Chile would have become apparent earlier and that the cause of holiness in church administration would have advanced more quickly and less painfully. Since Hoover's time no more foreigners have been connected with the indigenous Pentecostal movement and all negative nationalism has of itself come to an end. During his visit to Chile in 1964 the writer never noticed any trace of anti-foreign feeling among the members of the indigenous Pentecostal churches, but he was aware of it in his contacts with those Chileans who were connected with the Asambleas de Dios, which are to some extent still dependent on the North American Assemblies of God.

h. The impact made by the indigenous Pentecostal movement on the Chilean nation

In the light of what has been reported above the reader may well ask whether the impact made can be considered to have been a Christian

one or is to be attributed solely to the popular character of the movement. Pentecostal growth has taken place chiefly among the hundreds of thousands of poor people who during this century have migrated from the countryside to the larger cities in search of a better living. The Roman Catholic church's tendency in the past to identify itself with the landowning class had alienated these people but not removed their religious aspirations⁸⁸. At the same time these people needed new communities to replace those that they had left behind in their villages, and new outlets for their organizational abilities. The Pentecostal movement fulfilled these three needs to a high degree. The warmth of the meetings satisfied the religious longings of these simple people. The participation of the congregation in several aspects of the services gave them the feeling that once again they belonged to a group. The great development of lay ministry offered them a chance to exercise the talents they had needed for the direction of small agricultural communities and enterprises⁸⁹.

It is to be expected, therefore, that Chilean Pentecostalism also suffers from the defects which are common to popular movements, such as ignorance, dogmatism and an unthinking obedience to leadership. There is undeniably much in this movement which is not of the Holy Spirit. In a very fair report Douglas Webster comes to the conclusion that Chilean Pentecostal churches "are legalistic and tend to live by rules" and also that they "show more *zeal*, but not more *fruit* of the Spirit than other churches"⁹⁰. The turnover of membership is very high⁹¹ and from what the writer has seen it would appear that many of the so-called manifestations of the Spirit are in reality little more than demonstrations of the flesh. Yet in spite of all this, Chilean Pentecostalism has from the beginning succeeded "in changing for the better the lives of many social outcasts"⁹² and in 1932 John Mackay wrote that those who had studied the movement at close quarters were persuaded that it had produced a high level of morality among its members⁹³. Vergara believes that Pentecostals have emphasized the moral aspects of Christianity, perhaps even more than other Protestant denominations, and attributes this to the experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, attested to by a change of life and by the gifts of the Spirit⁹⁴.

Another reason for the impact which the movement has made on the nation is its very size. The Pentecostal community represents 8.6 % of the population, which is a higher proportion than in any other Latin American country⁹⁵. Pentecostalism is a force politicians have to take

⁸⁸ Vergara, Op. Cit. pp. 226-230.

⁸⁹ Vergara, Op. Cit. pp. 233-238.

⁹⁰ Webster, A visit to Spain, Portugal and South America. Oxford, Dec. 24, 1963. pp. 3 f.

⁹¹ William Flagg's information.

⁹² Browning, Op. Cit. p. 29.

⁹³ Mackay, *The other Spanish Christ*. Lon. 1932. pp. 247 f.

⁹⁴ Vergara, Op. Cit. p. 125.

⁹⁵ Stanley Rycroft & Myrtle Clemmer, *A factual Study of Latin America*. N.Y.

into account and this in turn has contributed to its moral influence. The writer believes that the fact that Chile is the only Latin American country where the current reformation in the Roman Catholic church has "permeated even the hierarchy"⁹⁶ is due in part to the Pentecostal influence. Roman Catholic priests even copy some of the Pentecostal methods⁹⁷. On the negative side Vergara points out that Chilean Pentecostalism has taken refuge in an other-worldly spirituality and has for that reason not faced up to many of the social and political problems of the day⁹⁸. This is quite true, but it needs to be remembered that action in these fields would have necessitated co-operation with others. The educational level of the vast majority of the Pentecostals was so low that in any such contact they would very probably be made to feel their inferiority. However, leaders such as Chavez and Pavéz are now very aware of the need to apply the Gospel in the social field and this awareness is spreading to other Pentecostal denominations as well. That some of those who in the past did not count for anything in society have now been placed in a position where they can start to consider such matters is surely not one of the least contributions that Pentecostalism has made to Chile.

The flight from reality also has other motives. One of the aims of the rigid separation from the world which the Pentecostals preach is to deliver people from contact with the drinking that often accompanies social activities. Vergara writes that the moralizing influence which popular Protestant groups⁹⁹ have had in Chile is undeniable, especially as far as the problem of drink is concerned¹⁰⁰. The other motive which Pentecostals have for attempting to escape from reality is their fear that any sort of preoccupation with the things of this life will dull their personal relationship with God. This fear is based on a wrongly understood distinction between the spirit and the flesh, but the very fact that this fear plays such an important part is a sign that, in spite of many resemblances to movements which are first and foremost popular in character, Chilean Pentecostalism has not lost its basic, spiritual nature.

If it be asked how the existence of moral blemishes in Chilean Pentecostalism can be reconciled with the Christian impact it has made on the nation, attention must be given to the following four points. The first is that the patches of rottenness were limited to a small group at

1963. p. 234. The Protestant community in Chile is 10.8% of the population, in Haiti 10.4 %, in Brazil 7.8 %, in the Argentine 2.1 % and in all the other countries less. In Chile 80 % of the Protestants are Pentecostals, in Brazil and Haiti 50 % or less.

⁹⁶ José Miguez Bonino. The Impact of the Vatican Council on Latin America Roman Catholicism. World Council of Churches Paper, June 11, and 12, 1964.

⁹⁷ Samuel E. Araya, An Approach to Evangelism in Chile on an Ecumenical Basis. Thesis Union Theological Seminary. April 1, 1960. p. 34.

⁹⁸ Vergara, Op. Cit. p. 238.

⁹⁹ Vergara, Op. Cit. p. 247. 92.5 % of those listed by Vergara as belonging to popular Protestant groups are Pentecostals.

¹⁰⁰ Idem. p. 240.

the top. Mostly the pastors showed great loyalty in keeping the details of conflicts to themselves. For instance, Daniel Venegas, the pastor in Concepción, who together with his congregation was expelled from the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal in 1942, withheld the details of his clash with Umaña, both from his congregation and even from his church board ¹⁰¹. The result was that many of the ordinary church members were given a chance to grow in grace without being involved in all the conflicts as so often happens in churches where members have a voice in the direction of the church's affairs ¹⁰². Secondly, that such demonstrations as occurred in the public services in no way interfered with the reverent reading of the Scriptures and of the preaching which was usually acceptable and to the point. Thirdly, that the internal problems of the churches never interfered seriously with the work of the lay ministry, and fourthly, that Chilean Pentecostals have really learned something from their own mistakes, while the lessons patiently taught by the missionaries all too often seem to have been half learned.

i. Reasons for the progress of Pentecostalism in Chile

In 1951 Brackenridge wrote of the Pentecostals in Chile that "their success has been the cause of much reflection and study by other groups, but no one has been able to say why one succeeds so well, while the others find their efforts so unproductive" ¹⁰³. Since then Nida, referring to South American Pentecostalism in general, has pointed out that the gifts of the Spirit provide "a highly significant system of communication" in the Latin American atmosphere ¹⁰⁴. Webster, dealing specifically with Chilean Pentecostalism, has mentioned the strong sense of fellowship, the general participation in group worship and the tremendous emphasis on lay witness ¹⁰⁵. Both these comments are valuable and true, but fail to single out the key factors which must be involved. The gifts of the Spirit are common to Pentecostal movements in all parts of South America and yet only in Chile and Brazil can Pentecostalism be said to have made a significant impact on the nation. Furthermore the qualities described by Webster are to be found in some groups outside the Pentecostal movement which have nevertheless remained relatively insignificant. The vital factors must, therefore, be sought in those things that distinguish the larger Pentecostal churches in Chile and Brazil from sister churches in the other South American republics.

The indigenous Pentecostal movement in Chile is remarkable because of its practice of infant baptism, because of its awareness of being linked

¹⁰¹ Hector Faundez's recollection.

¹⁰² Paul Roffe's suggestion made as a result of his experience in Peru. The writer believes that the experience in Chile supports this idea.

¹⁰³ Brackenridge, Pentecostal Progress in Chile, *World Dominion*, Lon. Sept/Oct. 1951.

¹⁰⁴ *Practical Anthropology*, July/Aug. 1961. p. 251.

¹⁰⁵ Webster, A visit to Spain, Portugal & Sout America. p. 4.

to the Wesleyan tradition and last but not least, because it does not consider the gift of tongues as a necessary accompaniment of the baptism of the Spirit. These features may be very interesting in that they show that Pentecostalism can be more flexible than is often imagined, but as they do not characterize the Brazilian movement, they offer no clue as to the cause of the unusual Pentecostal growth in the two countries under consideration. The largest Pentecostal churches in Chile and Brazil do, however, resemble each other in two ways. Firstly, they have inherited or adopted authoritarian forms of church government¹⁰⁶, which may have been dangerous, but were better understood by the nationals than the democratic processes most Protestant missions were trying to introduce. Secondly, these churches either became independent of foreign control at an early stage, or never had any foreign connection, so that they were able to adapt themselves freely to local conditions. The first feature helped these churches to remain standing on their own feet and the second feature enabled them to develop unhampered by the stigma of being considered foreign, which is attached to those churches in which foreign missionaries or funds still play some part¹⁰⁷.

Missionary strategists such as Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson understood a century ago that the young churches should be made self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating as soon as was practicable. At the beginning of this century Roland Allen urged missionaries to make nascent church groups stand on their feet from the start¹⁰⁸ and when, in practice this did not happen, the blame was usually placed on the missionaries¹⁰⁹. Yet the history of the E.U.S.A. in Peru makes it plain that even where Allen's principles were applied from the beginning, the churches have in the end proved themselves to be incapable of standing on their own feet. Churches founded on a democratic basis provided the necessary scope for a lay ministry and for a time they seemed to grow well, but they remained indifferent to their need of a professional ministry long after it had become obvious that such a ministry was essential to their further development. This shows that Allen was mistaken in his belief that the indigenous principles he advocated could be applied to missions and young churches regardless of the type of church government that they adopted¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁶ W. B. Forsyth's letter to the writer dated Aug. 12, 1966, written from Teresópolis in Brazil. Both in Chile and Brazil the indigenous Pentecostal churches are at present moving towards more decentralization and collective leadership in their church government.

¹⁰⁷ Idem. The indigenous Pentecostal churches in Brazil have grown considerably more than the Assemblies of God which retains its North American connection.

¹⁰⁸ Roland Allen, *Missionary Methods – St. Paul's or Ours?* Lon. 1960⁵. p. 158 f.

¹⁰⁹ Allen, *Spontaneous Expansion – the Terror of Missionaries World Dominion*, Lon. Sept. 1926. pp. 222 f;

Stuart McNairn's circular letter to all the E.U.S.A. missionaries. Nov. 1933;

McNairn, *The Native Church, Exotic or Indigenous World Dominion*, Lon. July 1934. p. 300.

¹¹⁰ Allen, *Op. Cit.* p. 16.

Unhappily most of the churches with an authoritarian form of government fared no better than those which were established on democratic principles. A professional ministry gave the authoritarian churches solidity, but usually at the cost of stifling the lay ministry so that the evangelistic outreach was largely lost. Three churches considered in this thesis have partially succeeded in breaking this impasse. By means of their excellent organization the Adventists have managed to build up a professional ministry and yet retain a reasonable level of lay participation. The organization needed could not, however, function without help from outside the country and a recent report from Peru would suggest that professionalism is becoming a problem also among the Adventists ¹¹¹. The Baptists in Chile have maintained their democratic form of church government and lay ministry is no problem. Due to a liberal flow of funds from the United States they have been able to subsidize new pastors until the churches are accustomed to supporting them, but even so, less than half their organized churches have pastors ¹¹². The Assemblies of God in Peru have done very well as far as a lay ministry is concerned and reasonably well with their ordained pastors, but the troubles connected with the individualistic interpretation of the Spirit's guidance have prevented them building up a large and solid church and they are still somewhat dependent on foreign funds especially as regards the training of a professional ministry.

Of the movements considered in this thesis, only Chilean Pentecostalism fully succeeded in putting Allen's principles into effect. It was able to do this because of its unique feature of combining an authoritarian church government with a very active lay ministry. The authoritarian form of government made apprenticeship training for the professional ministry possible, because a pastor could maintain his position even if the educational level of his hearers advanced beyond his own. No Bible school in Peru or Chile has been able to function without a heavy foreign subsidy so that this apprenticeship system was a vital factor in making it possible for the church to become self-supporting almost immediately. The authoritarian form of church government restricted the right to interpret the Spirit's leading to a relatively small group of leaders, while at the same time giving these leaders so much responsibility that they tended to act more as representatives of their churches than as individuals. The result was that although Chilean Pentecostalism has had many internal problems, it has been less troubled by individualistic interpretations of the Spirit's will than the sister movement in Peru and this has certainly contributed to the self-government of the Chilean churches. Finally the vigorous lay ministry has insured self-propagation and made it possible to use all available funds for the erection of new buildings and for the support of a relatively small professional ministry, without money having to be spent on paid evangelists.

¹¹¹ David T. Milne's information.

¹¹² Timoteo Gatica's information.

How is this active lay ministry to be explained in a church which is not democratically governed? There is no special organization for this purpose. Pastors do nothing which is not fully duplicated in other denominations. At the beginning prophecies were made during the services which directed people to certain fields of labour, but unfortunately misuse has rather discredited this method of communicating the divine will ¹¹³. May be this was the reason that none of the Chilean Pentecostals with whom the writer spoke, attributed their call to service as laymen to such a prophecy. The reason always given was the baptism of the Spirit and this central experience must in some way be related to the willingness of the Pentecostal church members in Chile to give themselves to the work of lay ministry under conditions which have stifled such initiative in other churches considered in this thesis.

The baptism of the Spirit resembled the experience of entire sanctification which was preached by the denominations from which the Pentecostal movement had sprung, in that in both cases the believer offered himself unreservedly so that God could undertake the work of sanctification in his life. This explains why Vergara pointed to this experience as the source of the drive for moral improvement ¹¹⁴ which, in spite of many slips, has characterized the Pentecostal movement in Chile. The baptism of the Spirit differed from the experience of entire sanctification in that, after Wesley's early ministry, the latter was not connected with tangible signs. By their insistence that the baptism of the Spirit must be attested by visible gifts of the Spirit, the Pentecostals have on the whole helped their members to turn their inward consecration to God into outward, visible acts of service for others. Even so Vergara has pointed out that the baptism of the Spirit as experienced in Chile has at times led to undue subjectivism ¹¹⁵, but for those who preached the doctrine of entire sanctification without the gifts of the Spirit this danger was even greater. In 1935 the Nazarenes in Peru reported that "the doctrine of sanctification led to a wrong interest in themselves" ¹¹⁶ and while it would be unfair to take this extreme case as a typical example, nevertheless the traditional preaching on sanctification is often accompanied by an unhealthy interest in one's own spiritual temperature. One of the effects of emphasizing the gifts of the Spirit has been to make this experience more extrovert.

The experience in Chile shows that the gifts of the Spirit are also capable of every kind of perversion. They can become visible props to one's faith, which take the place of a vital relationship to God and so become idols. They can be used to impress others with one's own spirituality and in this case they lead to spiritual pride and a seeking after power. Worst of all they can be used in an attempt to force God's hand

¹¹³ Juan Dănese's information.

¹¹⁴ Vergara, Op. Cit. p. 125.

¹¹⁵ Vergara, Op. Cit. p. 127.

¹¹⁶ *Actas de la Décima Séptima Asamblea Nazarena en el Peru*, Monsefú, 1935.

and then they become, in effect, instruments of magic. These things are essentially selfish and are the manifestations of a spirit very different from the Holy Spirit of the New Testament. Examples of all these things can be found in the foregoing materials and yet a selfish experience cannot account for the outburst of genuine service on the part of so many humble believers in Chile. For them the baptism of the Spirit has been a truly spiritual experience in which they have stopped thinking about what they could receive from God and started being concerned about how they could give themselves to Him, with the natural result that they also started giving themselves to their neighbours.

Apart from helping to deflect excessive attention from their own spiritual condition, the gifts of the Spirit helped these believers in two other ways. Firstly, it reminded them that God had come to them not only in words, but even more importantly in power. He was a God who could still act in everyday life and this was the vital message they could pass on. Secondly, the gifts that the Spirit bestowed upon them, provided these humble and sometimes unlettered believers with something that they could pass on and use for others immediately without waiting for any formal training. They could start practising how to minister to others without first having to learn how to receive in a way that might blunt their desire to give themselves to others and in the context of the two countries which have been studied, this appears to be something very important. The baptism of the Spirit and the accompanying gifts have provided a vital impetus to the ministry in Chile and made it possible to break the impasse between lay initiative and authoritarian church government.

A REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS OF DIVISION, NATIONALISM AND NATIVE MINISTRY

a. Divisions among God's people

Israel's unity rested not only on the God-given basis of a common parentage in Abraham, of a common deliverance from Egypt and of a common calling to be a light for the Gentiles, but also on the obligation of faithfulness to the covenant. This faithfulness was to manifest itself in humble obedience to the law and a strong warning was given that if any Israelite despised the covenant "the Lord would single him out from all the tribes of Israel for calamity" (Deuteronomy 29 : 21) ¹. This happened to Korah, Dathan and Abiram when God commanded Moses, Aaron and the other Israelites to separate themselves from the rebels so as not to share in their judgment (Numbers 16 : 21-26). The same verb בָּדַל (badal) which in the Revised Standard Version is variously translated to single out, to separate, to make distinction and to set apart, is also used in a positive sense in the Old Testament. God separated the Israelites from the other nations so that they might be His (1 Kings 8 : 53) and for this reason they had to make a distinction between their conduct and the uncleanness of the other peoples (Leviticus 20 : 24-26). Within Israel the Levites were separated so as to be God's (Numbers 8 : 14) and to attend to His service (Numbers 16 : 9). Again within those who attended the ministry Aaron and his sons were set apart to make the sacrifices (1 Chronicles 23 : 13).

When not only individuals, but the nation as a whole became unfaithful to the covenant, the basis of Israel's separation ceased to exist. Before the exile Amos warned those who hoped the day of the Lord would bring judgment on Israel's enemies, that it would rather be a day of darkness for themselves (Amos 5 : 18). Later the prophets declared that foreigners who adhered to the God of Israel would on no account be separated from His people (Isaiah 56 : 3), that Nebuchadnezzar was a servant of the Lord (Jeremiah 25 : 9) and that Cyrus was an "anointed one" (Isaiah 45 : 1). In the New Testament our Lord developed this train of thought to its logical conclusion by declaring that the privileges attached to the service of God would be taken away from Israel and given to others (Matthew 21 : 41-43). The ties of blood relationship had in the course of time so obscured the real basis of

¹ Revised Standard Version. In the Hebrew text this verse is numbered 20 and not 21.

Israel's unity that Jesus Christ found it necessary to bring division within the family (Luke 12 : 51-53)² and to establish the kingdom of God on earth in such a way that it would cut across the lines of national distinction between Jew and Gentile (John 10 : 16).

While the people of God were identified with a particular nation, it was impossible to disentangle the problems of spiritual unity from factors of a social, political and economic nature. The division of Israel which took place in the days of Rehoboam was in good measure due to the rivalry which had existed between Ephraim and Judah in the days of David (2 Samuel 19 : 41-43)³ and even earlier (Judges 8 : 1-3). In turn this rivalry had its roots in various cultural and religious factors about which very little was known so that after explaining Solomon and Rehoboam's share in the tragedy (1 Kings 11 : 30-33 and 12 : 13-15), the writer concludes that the division was a judgment from God⁴. Such reasoning is very understandable, but it undermined the ordinary Israelite's sense of responsibility for the unity of his nation and even made it possible for the king to minimize his. Our Lord Jesus Christ based the new unity in the last resort on the common performance of the Father's will (Matthew 12 : 48-50) and recognized its existence even where no tangible bond was in evidence (Luke 9 : 49-50). It would be idle to pretend that as the church developed the new line of division was not influenced by national, social and economic factors. The Gentiles proved to be more responsive than the Jews, the slaves more than those who were free and the poor more than the rich, but in the New Testament division was more a matter of personal responsibility than it had been in the Old Testament.

Greater personal responsibility meant that more people were in a position to make mistakes. After the briefest period of unanimity (Acts 2 : 1, 46 and 4 : 32) the infant church was tested by splits caused by a misunderstanding of doctrine (Acts 15 : 1-2), by personal disciplinary problems (Acts 15 : 37-39 and Romans 16 : 17), by those who exploited the church to their own advantage (Jude 16), by an insistence on asceticism (1 Timothy 4 : 3) and by heresies (2 John 7-10). Nevertheless there were two important advantages. The small scale of many of the splits made it possible to diagnose their cause and the church was turned into a training ground in which the members could learn by practice the right attitude towards divisions. Paul attributed strife within the church to carnality (1 Corinthians 3 : 3-4) and urged the members to remain united in accordance with the leading of the Holy Spirit (Ephesians

² This is a reference to Micah 7 : 6 in which the prophet deplores the existence of divisions even within the family circle.

³ 1 Kings 12 : 15, Revised Standard Version. כִּי־הָיָה סָבָה מֵעַם יְהוָה
Literally: "because it was a turn from the Lord". The Israelites believed that in the end all things originated in God, but they also left room for human responsibility. Situations which were considered to be within human control were attributed in the first place to the acts of men, but things like this division which were felt to be beyond man's governing were attributed directly to God.

4 : 3). Yet at the same time Paul emphasized the need of division from those who undermined the moral, spiritual or doctrinal foundations of the church (1 Corinthians 5 : 13, 16 : 22 and Galatians 1 : 8). It is surely an encouragement to us that even Paul did not always know where to draw the line. He was almost certainly right in opposing Peter in Antioch (Galatians 2 : 11–14) but probably wrong in his contention with Barnabas shortly afterwards (Acts 15 : 37–39).

The New Testament writers were still trying to feel their way in this important problem and unfortunately we do not know enough about the background of the splits which occurred in the apostolic church to be able to appreciate the full import of what they did write⁴. Nevertheless certain things are clear. Paul was against divisions *σχίσματα* which revolved around personalities (1 Corinthians 1 : 10–13)⁵. Further Paul wrote that divisions *σχίσματα* revealed who were genuine Christians and who were not (1 Corinthians 11 : 18–19) and John developed this thought a little further when he stated that divisions showed whether those involved were “of us” (*ἐξ ἡμῶν*) or not (1 John 2 : 18–19). In the early church the expression “of us” must have been interpreted to mean membership of the true church, because during the first few centuries the vital question in all the schisms and heresies was whether one was inside the church or not⁶. In this way the line of division between the kingdom of God and the world was once again made to coincide with a boundary between two or more groups of people; those who were inside what they considered to be the true apostolic church and those outside. As the church grew this boundary was again obscured by factors of a social, political and economic nature till the position of the church, as far as the problem of spiritual unity was concerned, resembled that of the nation Israel in the Old Testament.

The expression *ἐξ ἡμῶν* is also capable of a different interpretation, namely that the apostle is not so much referring to a particular group of people as to the divine mission which was made flesh in the Person of our Lord. The Lord Jesus came from the Father *ἐξηλθὼν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς* (John 16 : 27), His works were from the Father *ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς* (John 10 : 32) and the possibility of becoming one of His followers was also from the Father *ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς* (John 6 : 65). It is the presence or absence of this mission that determines whether something is of the truth *ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας* (1 John 3 : 19), or of the world *ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου* (1 Joh. 2 : 16). Defined in this way the spiritual boundary runs straight through the heart of churches, of groups, of individuals and of someone's deepest thoughts and feelings. The writer is convinced that only when the spiritual boundary is thus defined does it become possible to make any pro-

⁴ P. A. van Stempvoort, *Eenheid en Schisma in de Gemeente van Korinthe volgens 1 Korinthiërs*, thesis Amsterdam 1950. p. 201.

⁵ Idem. p. 164.

⁶ S. L. Greenslade, *Schism in the Early Church*. Lon. 1964². p. 21.

gress in disentangling the problems of the older Protestant churches in Peru and Chile.

b. The problem of nationalism

When our Lord told the Samaritan woman that "salvation is from the Jews" ἡ σωτηρία ἐκ τῶν ἰουδαίων ἐστίν (John 4 : 22), He was stating a historical fact and at the same time touching the basis of her problem. Because the salvation of the Father, was also "from the Jews", she had the greatest difficulty in distinguishing between what was applicable to herself and what might safely be considered as specifically Jewish. Could she worship God on her own mountain or was it essential to go to Jerusalem? (John 4 : 20). Our Lord came to bring about a division between the kingdom of God and the Jewish nation, so that the basis of salvation might become clear to people of all nationalities. Each nation now has a right to a presentation of the Gospel which is specially adapted to its own customs and ways of thinking. It is very easy to say this, but difficult to put it into practice and Protestant missionaries who went to Peru and Chile all too often unthinkingly applied to the new situation methods which had been successful at home.

The cultured Latin Americans reacted strongly to this kind of approach and this is one of the reasons why Protestants have been able to achieve so little in the higher social classes of these two countries. As might be expected the poorer people were less sensitive to this issue, but when they took part in the ministry alongside the missionaries this problem became acute for them too. The missionaries did not intend to treat the national workers condescendingly, but failed to realize that their relationship to the native ministers was as much a part of the Gospel they presented as the message given from the pulpit. Instead of adapting this relationship to local circumstances on the basis of complete equality in God's purpose, the missionaries tended to act as if they were the well-intentioned managers of some enterprise in their home country. The nationalistic reaction of the Latin Americans to this unconscious nationalism on the part of the missionaries has already been described at such length in this thesis that no further comment is needed.

The attempt made by some missions to apply indigenous principles to the work that they had built up was another source of nationalistic feeling. The history of the C.M.A. in Chile around the year 1928 is a case in point. Executive responsibility was handed over to the nationals at the same time as a programme for self-support was being enforced. The effect of this was that the national leaders had to administer the church under more difficult circumstances than those under which the foreigners had done so. Therefore when the Chileans failed it is very understandable that they felt that the foreigners were responsible for their misfortunes. The Baptists in Chile provide an opposite example. By entrusting the financial resources of the mission to a Co-ordinating

Committee in which the nationals had a majority, executive responsibility was handed to the Chileans under circumstances that remained as they had been before. The result has been that the Chileans did not fail and that there has been surprisingly little nationalistic feeling in the Baptist church.

After 1931 the I.E.P. was troubled by an upsurge of nationalistic feeling very similar to that which had just occurred in the C.M.A. church in Chile. However, in the case of the I.E.P. the problem was somewhat different, because direct mission support had already been reduced to insignificant proportions. When the foreign missionaries retired from the Synod Board in 1931, the nationals were apparently being asked to take over full responsibility for the administration on a basis that had not changed. Yet when a majority of the delegates to the 1932 Synod voted a E.U.S.A. missionary back on to the Board⁷, there was strong nationalistic feeling on the part of some of the national leaders. At the time this reaction was felt to be unreasonable and was taken as evidence that the I.E.P. allowed itself to be influenced by the spirit of nationalism which was then sweeping the country at large⁸. It is true that some of the national leaders interpreted the return of a E.U.S.A. missionary to the Board as a reflection upon themselves, but at the same time they did have reason to feel that missionaries had placed them at a disadvantage. The Synod Board in which all the members had an equal vote represented a type of authority to which the Peruvians were not accustomed. While the foreign missionaries formed an important minority on the Board, the nationals were almost obliged to stand together and the organization functioned reasonably well, but as soon as the foreigners left, this type of authority became unmanageable for the Peruvians. The failure to adapt authority in the church to the local circumstances, made the I.E.P. inherently dependent on foreigners and in this sense discriminated against the Peruvians.

It is not easy to give a general definition of the word nationalism, because its meaning varies with the local circumstances. In this thesis the word has been used to describe three different phenomena. Firstly, there is the nationalism of the missionary who imposes habits from his own country on the churches he has helped to plant. As the missionary has so much more experience of these habits, the young convert often feels that he is being put at a disadvantage and reacts accordingly. Secondly, there is the nationalism of the young churches which is directed against the foreigners and which is the result of some form of discriminatory treatment. The missionary is usually quite unaware of the discrimination he is practising and, therefore, feels both misunderstood and hurt, with the result that he is usually confirmed in his own nationalistic feelings. Thirdly there is the nationalism which is not di-

⁷ *Las Actas del Sínodo de Morococha*, 24-25 y 30-31 de julio 1933 make a reference to what happened at the preceding Synod at Palcamayo.

⁸ *Adelante*, Lima enero de 1933.

rected against any person or group, but which seeks to re-express the Gospel in terms that are relevant to the local situation. The first two types of nationalism are not consistent with the Gospel and have done great harm to the development of the church in Peru and Chile, but the third type, which has been specially in evidence among the Pentecostal churches in Chile, has been very beneficial. This third type of nationalism has led to mistaken experiments and at times even to excesses, but the benefits have far outweighed the disadvantages and this positive nationalism constitutes one of the important reasons for the astonishing progress of Pentecostalism in Chile.

c. A review of Protestant church divisions in Peru and Chile

At least 63 divisions have taken place in the older Protestant churches in Peru and Chile, apart from three divisions among the early missionaries before national churches had been properly established. No records are available of several Baptist divisions in Chile which have later been healed. Two relatively unimportant I.E.P. divisions are not mentioned ⁹, and a few Pentecostal divisions in Chile may have escaped the writer's notice, but the list given may safely be taken as representative. Four of these divisions have taken place among Peruvian Pentecostals and not less than 34 among the Pentecostals in Chile ¹⁰. At first sight division would seem to be a Pentecostal speciality, but if the size and age of the churches is taken into account a very different picture emerges. In the following table an imaginary church which has gained 25,000 adherents in 50 years is taken as standard and the real churches are placed into four groups according to the number of divisions that would have taken place per standard church assuming that divisions are proportional both to the age of a church and the number of its adherents. The number of adherents is taken to be three and a half times as great as that of the members in full communion ¹¹ and where statistics are uncertain an estimate has been made.

⁹ In the Huaquilla church, Lima and the Cuzco church, both for personal reasons, although in the former case church order was also involved.

¹⁰ 33 divisions are listed in the twenty-first chapter and the division of Tulio Morans' independent Pentecostal church in Concepción is mentioned in the seveneenth chapter.

¹¹ Stanley Rycroft's estimate for Protestant churches in South America.

Church	Years of Spanish preaching up to 1964	Number of adherents in 1964	Number of splits	Number of splits per standard church
<i>Group I</i>				
Adventists in Peru	66	70,000	none	none
Nazarenes	47	7,800	none	none
Pilgrim Holiness	61	5,000	none	none
<i>Group II</i>				
Anglicans in Chile	69	A few thousand	none	none
Free Church of Scotland	48	A few hundred	none	none
<i>Group III</i>				
Adventists in Chile	70	35,000	2	1.02
Methodists in Chile	77	27,000	2	1.19
Iglesia Metodista				
Pentecostal	55	260,000	14	1.22
Baptists in Chile	56	35,000	2 lasting splits	1.27
Iglesia Evangélica				
Pentecostal	31	200,000	8	1.61
Methodists in Peru	74	7,700	1	2.21
Asambleas de Dios in Peru	45	28,000	4	3.95
<i>Group IV</i>				
Christian & Missionary Alliance in Chile	67	9,000	4	8.3
Presbyterians in Chile	98	8,500	6	9.0
Iglesia Evangélica Peruana	46	14,000 ¹²	8	15.5

The churches of the first group are characterized by good organization. The Peruvian Adventists and the Pilgrim Holiness churches have had some difficulties of adaptation and the Nazarenes have been somewhat troubled by nationalism. At one stage the Nazarenes also had doctrinal difficulties, but generally speaking the churches in this group have suffered from only one type of problem. This cannot be said of the churches in the second group which have been spared division only because of their small size and because many dissatisfied members went over to other denominations. An exact classification of the causes of the divisions in the third and fourth group of churches cannot be given because very often these divisions were caused by several factors working together. In general it may be said that the causes of these splits arranged in order of importance were personality problems, defective organization, nationalism, inadequate adaptation and doctrinal disagreements. The divisions of the main Pentecostal churches in Chile either revolved around personalities or were related to matters of church administration. Among the other churches of the third group divisions

¹² This figure is uncertain. Keith Hamilton in *Church Growth in the High Andes*, Lucknow 1962 p. 29 gives the I.E.P. membership, without the C.M.A. as only 2,800. The writer estimates this figure at 4000.

were caused almost equally by the five factors mentioned, although with the exception of the Asambleas de Dios in Peru no church suffered from more than two or three of these problems at the same time.

The Asambleas de Dios in Peru belong nearly as much to the fourth group as to the third in that only the problem of doctrinal disagreement has been spared them. The churches of the fourth group have been troubled by all five difficulties in varying degrees. It would seem that a church can resist such problems if they come one at a time, but not if they come together. As far as Peru and Chile are concerned a rise in the number of the problems occurring simultaneously has been reflected in an increased frequency of schisms. Further there was no apparent relationship between the doctrine, form of ministry or church order of a denomination and the frequency of its schisms. The frequency of schism was in some way related to mission influence. In 15 of the 63 divisions the cause lay wholly or partly in the influence of foreign missionaries and it is surely significant that in 13 of these cases there was a separation between the organization of the mission and that of the national church. Once the mission organization had been properly integrated with that of the national church foreign influences no longer played a significant part in any divisions that still occurred.

If the divisions are studied from the point of view of their effect on the development of the work, it appears that none of the splits caused by nationalism have been beneficial and that many of the new groups formed in this way soon died out. The divisions which revolved around personalities, foreign influence or doctrinal disagreements were also not helpful, except in a few cases when other factors also played an important part. Many of the divisions momentarily stirred people to take a more active part in the work out of a sense of competition, but in most of these cases the negative effects outweighed any benefits and no permanent growth resulted. However, in ten cases in which a deficient church organization had been encouraging abuses, or a too rigid leadership had been stifling initiative, division was accompanied by lasting growth. Divisions not only oblige people to take part in the ministry, who would probably otherwise not do so, but make it possible for the new groups that are formed to correct the mistakes being made by the parent bodies. In most of the ten cases mentioned good advantage was taken of this opportunity for correction and this opened the way to further growth. Four divisions in Chile were followed by reforms of such importance that a closer examination is needed.

The Baptist split from the C.M.A. in 1908, was not very important in itself, but introduced a congregational church order into Chile. Thanks to the efforts of those who came later this church order became the basis for several instructive innovations and the Baptist church is to-day four times as large as the parent body from which it separated. The Pentecostal division in 1909 originated in the Chileans' desire to be able to express themselves more freely, but when the Methodist mis-
sio-

naries denied that the Holy Spirit could or should manifest Himself tangibly in signs and gifts, the controversy took on a doctrinal character. By emphasizing the fact that God had both the power and the will to work in the material details of life, the new Pentecostal movement provided not only a necessary corrective to the false distinction between the spiritual and the material which was all too common among the Evangelical missions, but it brought to the fore an element of the Gospel which was becoming rather obscured among the traditional churches. At the same time it must be said that apart from Hoover's leadership after the split had taken place this new spiritual impulse would not have come to fruition. Chavez and Pavéz stood out on matters of principle and later in their own groups they were able to initiate movements for greater honesty in financial administration, more co-operation with other denominations, less authoritarianism and a new concern for social applications of the Gospel. The special interest of the last two divisions is that the example of those who separated is having an effect on the parent bodies.

Divisions then offer opportunities for the deployment of the ministry which are often not otherwise available and in this way contribute to church growth. This is a sign that there is something seriously wrong with many of the churches, because ministry is a basic element of the church's life and consequently a church should be stimulating the people's ministry and not stifling it. Secondly, divisions offer the church the opportunity of becoming once again a laboratory for innovations and reforms. These experiments are not easy to conduct and often fail, but where they do succeed they more than compensate for the harm usually brought about by a division. Thirdly, it is clear from the examples given in this thesis that the immediate cause of a division is often not the real one. Divisions are a sign that there is something wrong with the church, but unless one of the parties discovers the real cause of trouble, there is almost no hope that helpful innovations will follow. For this reason none of the divisions which took place in a hurry or without proper consultation produced any lasting benefit.

In the early church schisms described by Greenslade the issue lay between what was recognized to be the church of Christ and what was not so recognized. In the divisions in Peru and Chile the parties involved continued to recognize each other as members of the body of Christ. Furthermore the splits often went right through a mission and even through a person. This last is best illustrated by Umaña who on the one hand devoted himself sacrificially to building up the church and on the other threatened its integrity by his ruthless selfishness. Many of the divisions of the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal are attributable to this inner contradiction in Umaña. The issue, therefore, did not lie between one nation and another, one denomination and another, or even one person and another, but ran straight through all of these. Divisions which revolved around personalities or were caused by nationalism

proved to be unhelpful, because in essence they were irrelevant. Divisions which were caused by doctrinal matters were not necessarily irrelevant, but were usually unhelpful because the poorer people in Peru and Chile found it difficult to appreciate an issue when it was expressed intellectually. They most easily appreciated an issue when it was expressed in practical matters related to their own culture. For that reason divisions which were caused by problems of worship or of church administration and in which there was a minimum of foreign interference on either side, were those most likely to lead to positive results. An attempt to gain a better understanding of what the real issue was, must be left to the next chapter.

d. The training of a native ministry

The establishment of a native ministry in the churches whose histories have been described in this thesis has depended on four factors: the type of people being evangelized, the type of message given, the type of training provided and the type of authority which was handed on. The fourth chapter recounts how the better-class Chileans, although less fanatical and more open to the Gospel, found it considerably harder to give themselves to the ministry than those who came from the poorer sections of the population. Both in Peru and Chile those churches which addressed themselves to the lower classes had greater success in raising up a national ministry. As far as the type of message is concerned, those churches which viewed the Gospel as a truth to be taught achieved greater stability in their converts, but those churches which saw the Gospel in the first place as a personal committal gained more volunteers for the ministry. The Presbyterians and the Methodists often had difficulty in finding enough candidates for their seminaries, whereas the problem for the I.E.P., the C.M.A., and the Nazarenes was that too few of their Bible institute graduates entered the full-time ministry. The Pentecostal churches, where the experience of consecration was crystalized into the baptism of the Spirit as evidenced by external signs, achieved the best results both in encouraging people to volunteer as well as in the establishment of these volunteers in the ministry.

The churches which regarded the Gospel in the first place as a truth to be taught concentrated on seminary training for a small number. The I.E.P., the C.M.A. and the Nazarenes gave more attention to a practical training. They did have Bible institutes to train full-time workers but they also gave time to short-term Bible schools and evening classes for lay workers. In general it may be said that they were more successful than the Presbyterians or the Methodists in the training of laymen. The Pentecostals in Chile gave the least attention to the intellectual preparation of their workers and the greatest to the practical training. They had no formal institutes and all their workers were trained by periods of apprenticeship on the successive rungs of the hierarchial ladder

Such a training is only possible where authority can be given to intellectually unprepared workers and cannot be considered ideal, because it does not provide the refinement needed to reach the more cultured classes. However, there can be no doubt that this apprenticeship training has raised up more workers than any other method.

The giving of oneself is basic to the Christian ministry, whereas receiving is basic to any training for that ministry. The latter follows naturally from the Christian conviction that we cannot give until we have first received. The problem arises when the kind of receiving which should take place during the training has to be determined. In an apprenticeship training the trainee is receiving on a practical level, whereas in an institute the accent is put on receiving in an intellectual sphere. Because in Peru and Chile intellectual preparation is often connected with social prestige, the students of an institute are exposed to considerable spiritual danger and are frequently side-tracked from the work of the Gospel. For this reason many Bible institutes make practical evangelistic activity an integral part of their courses and yet this has usually not proved to be a sufficient remedy. The volunteers for the ministry need an extended opportunity for learning how to give themselves on the practical level, in which social prestige plays a much smaller role, before they embark on an intellectual preparation. The apprenticeship training system which has been developed in the Chilean Pentecostal churches provides exactly such an opportunity, but to be practicable three conditions must be fulfilled in the life of the church.

In the first place there must be something not of an intellectual nature which can immediately be handed over to the volunteers so that they have something to give and can gain experience in giving. Speaking generally, the Presbyterian churches did not have such a thing. The Evangelical churches practising adult baptism laid stress on a conversion experience which could be shared with others. The Pentecostal churches added to this the spiritual gifts received as part of the baptism of the Spirit and it is to be understood, therefore, why the Pentecostals were more successful than the others in raising up a lay ministry. In the second place apprenticeship training is only possible where the church is sub-divided into cells so that the inexperienced worker has room where he can gain his experience. In churches in Europe young ministers are often first placed in rural churches, but in South America the social and economic differences between rural and urban churches are usually so great, that rural churches can hardly be used as a training ground for an urban ministry. This means that urban churches in South America should be sub-divided. Also in this respect the Pentecostal churches in Chile are the most advanced. In Santiago and the other important centres, central churches are surrounded by daughter churches and these daughter churches are in turn surrounded by smaller groups.

In the third place apprenticeship training is only possible if the inexperienced worker can at the outset be given the authority he needs

for the ministry in such a group. He must be distinguished from those among whom he labours by some gift which he can exercise among them. Among the Presbyterians and the Methodists this distinction consists of the right to conduct services and of other ecclesiastical privileges which depend on the status of the worker. These distinctions function satisfactorily from the point of view of the ordained ministry, but stifle the development of a lay ministry because laymen are given so little part in conducting the services. The Adventists and the Baptists reduce the extent of the ecclesiastical privileges, so that usually only the administration of the sacraments is reserved for those who are ordained. In these two cases the difference between a minister and the laity is chiefly a financial one. The Chilean Baptists subsidize their young workers for a number of years, so that they can devote themselves full-time to the work of the church and are thereby given a good opportunity to prove themselves. The Adventists reserve the tithes for the support of the ordained ministers so that the larger churches are almost obliged to accept such a worker as pastor. This financial distinction is satisfactory in that it leaves many opportunities open for lay ministry, but it is not widely applicable because churches are either not so generously supported as the Baptists in Chile, or feel themselves unable to impose the duty of tithing in the way that the Adventists do.

In the Chilean Pentecostal churches the distinction lies mainly in the right of appointment. The pastors of the central churches have the right to install leaders in the daughter churches. These leaders, in consultation with the board of the central church, have the right to appoint their assistants and even these assistants have the right to regulate who shall take part in the open air and other services for which they are responsible. In this way a church order is created which stimulates the development of a lay ministry, by creating two lower orders of ministry between the pastor and his congregation, but which can operate with a relatively small budget. The disadvantage of this system is that by the time a man is ready for ordination he will probably have a family and it will be very difficult for him to attend an ordinary Bible institute. The result is that apprenticeship training as practised by the Chilean Pentecostal churches fails to provide the pastors with the needed opportunities for intellectual preparation.

In order to overcome this problem the writer would like to suggest for Peru and Chile the introduction of teachers as a separate order of the ministry¹³. The Synod or annual conference would invite a relatively small number of workers, who had proved their worth and had given the promise of sufficient intelligence, to join a theological community for a period of two or three years. Provision would have to be

¹³ The apostles apparently adopted a flexible attitude towards the number of orders within the ministry. In 1 Corinthians 12 : 28 teachers are named separately, but in Ephesians 4 : 11 it would seem that pastoral care and teaching were regarded as being two functions of the same order.

made for the families of these candidates to live in the community and upon completion of the course, the candidates would be ordained as teachers. A teacher would be appointed to each region and in addition a few teachers might be appointed for specialized forms of church work. The teachers would travel round meeting all the workers for whom they were responsible for a few hours every two or three weeks. In that time the teachers would examine the workers orally, plan their studies for the following period and discuss the contents of their next sermons with them. In this way each worker, whether he was on a part or full-time basis, would be prepared for his next formal examination, which, taken together with his achievement in practice, would entitle him to a higher ordination.

e. The three types of Protestant churches in Peru and Chile

The traditional churches practising infant baptism constitute the first group. In spite of the fact that they were the first to initiate Protestant work in the two countries and that they have been supported by well-organized bodies in their home countries, these churches have developed slowly. At present they represent about 5% of the Protestant community in Peru and Chile. While rapid growth is not always a proof of spiritual soundness, slow growth in countries where the need is great can be taken as an indication that this need is not being adequately met. The churches in the first group have maintained a strong link with the past which has been symbolized in their practice of infant baptism and this link has helped them appreciate the importance of authority, so that these churches have usually been able to build up an adequate ordained ministry. Unfortunately this link with the past has also made them too apt to cling to forms which had become traditional in the home countries, so that these churches were too hesitant in allowing the nationals to take the initiative. This has led to a poor adaptation to local circumstances and a discouragement of the lay ministry, both factors which resulted in a slow growth.

The second type of church emphasizes that conversion is a radical break with the past and expresses this conviction in the practice of adult baptism. These churches which include the Pentecostal denominations in Peru have been freer in adapting themselves and have also given the nationals more scope for initiative. They have had considerably more success in developing a lay ministry and now represent some 25% of the Protestant community in the two countries. Unfortunately the absence of a strong link with the past has at times prevented them from appreciating the good points of the traditional church orders and of the need of continuity between church and mission. In several cases the result has been that there was no proper transfer of authority to the young church and that the nationals felt that the foreigners had deprived them of a right. With the Adventists and the Baptists, where

there was no separation between mission and church the results were decidedly better.

The Chilean Pentecostal churches constitute the third group. They maintained the link with the past through their acceptance of Wesleyan doctrine, through their continuance of the Methodist church order and through the similarity of their experience with that of the early Evangelical revival. There was no organizational link with the past and several Pentecostal leaders now believe that this is a real weakness, but the fact that these churches were able to develop as they have done, shows that this organizational link cannot be so important as many people think. At the same time these churches have experienced a radical break with the past in that initiative has come to rest exclusively in the hands of the nationals, with the result that the greatest measure of adaptation has been possible and that the lay ministry has flourished.

THE PRESENTATION OF THE GOSPEL IN THE PERUVIAN
AND CHILEAN ENVIRONMENTS

a. The need of a representative Gospel

According to the apostle John "no one has ever seen $\delta\epsilon\alpha\omega$ God"¹ (John 1 : 18) and yet the same writer recorded that our Lord said to Philip: "He who has seen $\delta\epsilon\alpha\omega$ me, has seen $\delta\epsilon\alpha\omega$ the Father" (John 14 : 9). Our Lord assured His disciples that "all that I have heard from my Father, I have made known unto you" (John 15 : 15) and yet very shortly afterwards He told them "I have yet many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now" (John 16 : 12). Because of the limitations of the historical situation to which our Lord gave Himself, He was only able to say a fraction of what he would otherwise have made known. Nevertheless the New Testament writers insist that the picture He gave of the Father was a representative one in that the essential elements were all present even if only in seed form. Our Lord's life and teaching was, therefore, authoritative because it was representative, but not because it was exhaustive. The apostle John summed up the picture which the Lord Jesus gave of the Father in two short definitions: "God is love" (1 John 4 : 8 and 16) and "God is light" (1 John 1 : 5). Succinct and beautiful as these definitions are they do not help us enough. They must be translated out of the situation in which our Lord found Himself and into ours and nowhere is this need felt more acutely than on the mission field where the Gospel has to be re-expressed within a strange culture.

The story of the Protestant churches in Peru and Chile shows that the needed re-interpretation of the Gospel only takes place when there is self-denial and a desire to place the other in the greatest possible freedom. It is not enough for the preacher to sacrifice himself and for his hearers to be placed in freedom, because such an approach has led to selfishness on the part of the congregation. It is necessary for the congregation also to deny itself and to try to place its preacher in the greatest freedom. Finally both preacher and congregation need to deny themselves and seek to place the world around them in freedom and it is only as this world around them responds by giving full liberty to the preacher and congregation that the Gospel can be interpreted in terms of the society in that place. In all aspects of the church's life and work, self-sacrifice and the desire to give freedom to the other

¹ Biblical references are quoted from the Revised Standard Version.

must go hand in hand. Only in this way can the church express the love of God as it was portrayed in the Person of our Lord who came to empty Himself in order that we might have freedom.

God is not only love, He is also light. Light has power to overcome darkness (John 1 : 5) and Paul wrote that power was an integral part of the Gospel he preached² (Romans 1 : 16, 1 Corinthians 1 : 18, 2 : 4-5, 4 : 19-20). The experience of the Protestant churches in Peru and Chile shows, however, that power in the message is not enough. There must also be power in the organization, in the leaders and in every aspect of the church's life. Light is not only powerful, it is also continuous. If discontinuity occurs in light then there is darkness, but there is no darkness in God (1 John 1 : 5). The light of which the apostle wrote means, therefore, continuity with God and this was perfectly expressed in the Person of our Lord who came to do the will of Him who sent Him (John 4 : 34). None of the churches considered in this thesis abandoned their relationship with Christ, but some of them did abandon this continuity on a lower level. Mission and church became separated, traditions and teaching from the past were abandoned and there was often a wrong kind of separation between the church and the world around it. Such discontinuity always brought trouble and often division.

The four elements of self-sacrifice, of freedom for the other, of power and of continuity must be present unitedly and must find their expression in the whole of the church's life. If one of these elements is missing to any significant degree, then the church is no longer presenting a representative Gospel and God's judgment in the form of a division follows. The judgment, however, is merciful because it creates conditions which are propitious for reform and for the restoration of the missing element. Unity is not itself one of the basic elements of the Gospel, because otherwise division could never lead to a restoration of unity, but unity is the indispensable bond holding the elements together. For the less educated people in Peru and Chile local events loom much larger than national ones, so that for this class, a division which helped to restore true unity on a local scale could still lead to growth and blessing. However, the more cultured people were keenly aware of the wider implications of these divisions and this is one of the important reasons why Protestantism has made little impact upon them. Divisions may, under the right conditions, open the way for local renewal, but church unity remains a prerequisite for reaching people of every social class.

b. The dangers and the necessity of adaptation

The example of the Roman Catholic church in Peru and Chile,

² Gerhard Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*. Stuttgart 1935 Vol. II p. 310.

which compromised its spiritual nature by adapting itself too freely to the local customs, so disturbed the Protestant churches that the majority of them were too hesitant in their use of local traditions. Furthermore the distinction between holiness and worldliness was too often seen by them as a matter of accepting certain customs and rejecting others. Quite apart from the fact that the customs which were accepted usually came from the Protestant home countries, while the rejected traditions were mostly local ones, this method of defining what was meant by separation from the world hid the fact that the real line of distinction ran straight through all the customs, whether foreign or local. Another problem was that it was very often not understood that adaptation applies to every aspect of the church's life. Missionaries often encouraged indigenization in one matter but forbade it in another. For these various reasons the majority of the Protestant churches never came close enough to the people and those churches which went furthest in adapting themselves to local conditions usually did the most good. A very few Protestant groups went too far, but there were also two cases of good adaptation which will now be considered.

In 1909, when the Pentecostal revival started, Hoover was fully confident that the Holy Spirit would make the necessary corrections independently of himself³. He, therefore, gave the nationals complete freedom to experiment, but soon found that excesses were taking place in which self-sacrifice had been replaced by a lack of consideration for others. Hoover then called the congregation in Valparaiso to examine its practices in the light of the Scriptures and to eliminate that which was contrary to apostolic teaching⁴. A little later Hoover tried to dissuade his colleagues from curtailing the new movement's freedom by drawing attention to the example of Wesley's early ministry. In this he failed, but his publications related to this subject had the effect of maintaining the continuity with Wesley at the time that the Pentecostal movement was excluded from the M.E. church. Later still when extremists denied pastors the right to govern the churches, Hoover safeguarded the freedom of the national pastors by insisting on the maintenance of Methodist church discipline.

The Pentecostal movement emphasized the power of God as manifested by spiritual gifts. This was an aspect of the Gospel which the traditional churches were neglecting and the Pentecostals did well to restore it, but the great danger was that the Pentecostals would overlook other things which were equally, if not more, important. Whenever this happened, partly by design and partly by accident, Hoover was able to restore the missing element by an appeal to that segment of the Christian heritage which was generally accepted at that moment. Firstly he insisted on continuity with the Scriptures, secondly on con-

³ W. C. Hoover, *Historia del Avivamiento Pentecostal en Chile*. Valpo. 1948 pp. 30 f.

⁴ Idem. p. 61.

tinuity with Wesley's general practice and thirdly on continuity with Methodist church discipline. However, continuity must be maintained not only with the Christian heritage but also the traditions of the people to whom the Gospel is brought. The Pentecostals in Chile succeeded in this also. They organized native bands to accompany the congregational singing, held processions and allowed demonstrations during the services which gave the believers an opportunity of expressing themselves in ways to which they were accustomed. The regional conventions which Ritchie established in central Peru are another example of good adaptation. These conventions replaced the Indian festivals with their excesses and yet maintained continuity with many local traditions.

The mark of a true adaptation is that the local customs are used for new purposes. Theoretically most customs can be used to express the Gospel, but in practice certain methods are more likely to undermine the essential elements of the Gospel than others. In Peru and Chile an educational mission was more likely to produce spiritual fruit than an agricultural or an industrial mission. Apprenticeship training had a better chance of fomenting a spirit of service than a Bible institute preparation. Musical accompaniments to the congregational singing did more to edify than the demonstrations during the services which were always beset by the danger of exhibitionism. This consideration applied not only to matters such as mission policy, forms of worship and methods of evangelism where the need for at least some measure of adaptation was generally conceded, but also to matters such as doctrine and church order which many missionaries believed could not be changed. In the Peruvian and Chilean environment Arminian doctrine has been less misunderstood than Calvinistic teaching and authoritarian church government has produced better results in one sphere, while a democratic system has been better in another. There is, therefore, no reason to believe that church order or doctrine are in a class apart. Even the Adventists, at a time when they were still holding rigidly to their doctrines, discovered that they could not escape from what was in effect an adaptation of their teaching if they were to reach the Indians around Puno.

In true adaptation the outward forms of the local traditions are maintained, but the purpose of these traditions is changed. With the Christian heritage it is the purpose which must be maintained and the forms that need to be varied. This must not be taken to mean that the outward forms are relatively unimportant because as stated above some forms lend themselves much better for the expression of the Gospel than others. One of the difficulties of missionary work in Peru and Chile has been that the best forms could often not be used because of some practical difficulty such as illiteracy, inexperience in management or lack of money. At the moment a radical concept of revolution is sweeping over South America according to which it is not even worth trying to amend or improve the old order. Even within the Protestant churches there are

voices which declare that there must be a radical break with the past⁵. The people who voice such sentiments forget, however, that a new purpose must have forms in which it can be expressed. A true revolution has little chance of succeeding unless it can be interpreted to the people by means of forms that they understand and, therefore, the more outward improvements that can be made now, the better the chance for a good revolution.

This section may be summed up by stating that holiness is characterized by the united presence of the four elements of self-sacrifice, of freedom for the other, of power and of continuity. Worldliness is characterized by the absence of one or more of these elements. The reason that it is so difficult to separate them is because something may be unholy in itself and yet contribute to the holiness of a larger unit. Umaña is perhaps the best example of this. His life was unholy in many respects, and nevertheless he contributed the elements of power and continuity to the Iglesia Metodista Pentecostal without which that church could never have exercised the beneficial influence, that it did. An unholy situation is, therefore, basically one in which something important is missing so that a process of true adaptation is not one of subtraction, but of addition. How then can a line be drawn between true adaptation and dangerous compromise? The experience of the churches in Peru and Chile shows that such a line cannot be laid down in advance. History can give important indications, but there has to be experimentation and provided that the experiments are conducted on a small scale so that there are not too many variable factors it is possible in retrospect to determine why a particular adaptation has been right or not. The missionary should start by giving the nationals the freedom for which they ask, but not more, and then follow the development closely trying to add what is missing as growth proceeds.

c. The problem of authority

The attempt to re-interpret the Gospel in Peru and Chile has nowhere encountered such difficulties as in the field of authority. Authority in the church is based on the fact that some members are given more power than others or that some are given a different kind of power to that possessed by others. In the churches which are democratically governed this distinction is controlled by the majority vote of all the members, whereas in authoritarian churches this control is exercised by those in office. The democratic government presupposes a certain standard of education and a feeling of responsibility among the members, while authoritarian government only functions well if there is a considerable degree of self-denial on the part of the office-bearers. The lower classes where Protestantism gained an entrance were deficient in education and,

⁵ Herbert Money's information.

with certain exceptions such as the leaders of Indian communities, had never been entrusted with responsibility, so that troubles could be expected with either system. Unfortunately the exaggerated fears which the missionaries entertained of what would happen if authority were handed over to the nationals only served to increase the difficulties that would have been encountered anyway.

Some missionaries tried to solve this problem by handing over the appearance of power to the nationals while they kept certain essential prerogatives for themselves. Ritchie realized that this was no solution and, because he was such a firm believer in democracy, he handed over real power to the nationals on a democratic basis. At the same time his fear that national pastors would become petty dictators led him to reduce ministerial privileges almost to nothing. The result was that the I.E.P. was largely deprived of ministerial authority and was no longer able to defend itself against power-seeking laymen. Only in the case of the Chilean Pentecostal churches was power fully handed over to the nationals in the form that they wished to receive it. The experience of these churches shows that Ritchie's fear of petty dictators was well founded, but also that these churches had a far greater capacity for self-correction than either Ritchie or many other missionaries imagined. In churches which were still connected with foreign missions, the tendency was for the national pastors to blame the mission for the mistakes that were made, but in the Chilean Pentecostal churches, especially after Hoover's death, such a thing was not possible. The writer observed a far more objective attitude towards their own mistakes among the leaders of the indigenous Pentecostal churches in Chile than among the leaders of churches which still had foreign connections.

Another factor which had the effect of unnecessarily increasing the problems of church authority was the way in which indigenous principles were applied by some of the missions working in Peru and Chile. It was regarded as axiomatic that the nationals understood their own people better than the missionaries and, therefore, that the nationals should be left to solve the internal problems of the native church on their own. The result was that the missionaries felt that they could evade the vital issue of how to build up an effective authority in the church. But if the missionary with his greater experience did not know how to establish such an authority, then how could he expect the nationals to do it? It is significant that the churches where the missionaries have felt that they should not share in the exercise of authority have been among those which suffered the greatest internal problems.

With reference to the problems which arose from the social conditions in the two countries it may in general be said that personnel matters in the church were best attended to by a person operating within a moderately authoritarian framework, while the finances were better handled by a body with a more democratic character. The reason for this seems to be that a worker finds it unsettling for matters such as allocation

which affect him very personally to be decided by the majority vote of some board or committee. Latin individualism may have something to do with this, but the writer has noted the same difficulty among missionaries. With money the great need is not merely for honesty of administration, but that all who are in any way concerned be convinced that the administration is correct. For this purpose a democratically appointed committee is much better. Perhaps the best example of this last is the Co-ordinating Committee set up by the Baptists in Chile. The nationals occupy five seats and the missionaries four. This means that the nationals must act together and this ensures a correct and open administration.

Personnel matters are best entrusted to a bishop or a superintendent. To concentrate authority into the hands of one person can be dangerous, but the experience of the Methodists and of the Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal where such persons are elected for a certain term by a national convention of pastors shows that this need not be so. Authority becomes dangerous when it is not subjected to authority and the difficulties in the Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal arose because the individual pastors were not always subject to effective control. As stated in the twenty-first chapter the Misión Iglesia Pentecostal is now introducing reforms by which the pastor will be subject to the authority not of all the members as in the case of the I.E.P., but of all who take part in the ministry of the church. The privilege of authority in the ministry will then be based on those who give themselves to that ministry.

According to the same principle final authority over the church's finances should be vested in those who give. This in fact happens in those churches where the treasury is entrusted to a committee appointed by all the church members. As a further refinement the writer would like to suggest that the members' meeting first vote on a budget proposed to them by the pastor together with his assistants and once this had been approved, the members would elect a small committee to administer the funds in accordance with the provisions of the budget. In this way authority would be based at all levels of the church government on giving, in accordance with what our Lord teaches in Matthew 20 : 25-28 about the difference between Christian and worldly authority. The authority of this world is based on force and money, but in the kingdom of God, authority is based on the sacrifice of those things with the intent of bringing freedom to the other.

d. The role of the missionary

At first sight the fact that the Chileans have learned more from their own mistakes in those churches which have no missionary connection than in the churches which retain some link with foreigners would suggest that the role of the missionary, in Chile at least, is finished. If the indigenous movement in that country gave indications that it was

capable of answering the nation's spiritual need that would certainly be the case. It would also be the case if the other churches with their varied contributions showed that they could already fully stand on their own feet. However, as is pointed out in the twenty-first chapter, the Pentecostals in Chile are now feeling the need of foreign help in a way that they have probably never done before. The weakness of this movement is that it has failed to meet the need of the more educated classes. This weakness is keenly felt because many of the children of Pentecostal parents are now receiving a better education. To overcome this problem the full-time ministry must receive a better intellectual preparation and an end must be made of the divisions. These divisions may have stimulated growth in the past but that will certainly not be so in the future. As far as the other churches are concerned, they undoubtedly have some of the answers to the problems of the Pentecostals, but they are still partly dependent on missionary help and will continue to be so for many years yet.

The missionary will continue to be needed for certain humble but indispensable duties. Just as a chemical experiment is probably valueless if the test tubes are not clean beforehand, so church ventures, however promising they might otherwise be, are a waste of time unless certain basic conditions are fulfilled. The writer knows of several interesting ventures which have failed because of gross financial mismanagement. The tragedy of such failures is that they discourage without really teaching anything. It would be a good thing if all new missionaries followed a course in bookkeeping so that they could serve as treasurers and also train the nationals in this important task. Another common but sterile cause of failure is that letters are not written and that reports are not circulated. The separation between the first and second I.E.P. Synods, which was the first seed of the sad division in 1954, started largely through a lack of correspondence. Bad administration is another of these factors. Useful magazines could have been kept in circulation by quite simple remedies. These basic but unexciting techniques must be taught chiefly by example and for this reason the writer disagrees with those who maintain that only highly trained specialists can be used in missionary work at present. There is still the need for the missionary who will stand beside his brethren and help them over these first hurdles so that the young church can then start learning from its mistakes.

The rising standard of education in Peru and Chile means that the atmosphere in these two countries will become more intellectual. To be able to express the Gospel in a relevant and understandable manner in this new atmosphere will demand considerably more preparation on the part of the national workers. Not every Christian worker will be able to attend a theological training institute and the writer doubts whether it would be desirable even if it were possible. As suggested in the preceding chapter a scheme of private coaching may well be one of the

answers and if so the missionaries will have to bear the brunt of the work during its earlier stages. Another great need is that of better Christian literature. Because there is still a lack of national writers missionaries will for a time have to fill the gap. There is a need for relevant church history. Happenings of long ago in Europe are mostly dry and uninteresting to the Latin Americans, but accounts of their own church history would surely captivate their interest and prove to be instructive to them. The writer believes that some of the contemporary theology, far from undermining the Latin Americans' faith could greatly strengthen it, if only it could be re-interpreted in the right way for them.

There is also the need for missionary research. Experiments are valuable for those who take part in them, provided that the basic techniques are respected, but they lose their value for others if the results are not published. Missionaries can do invaluable work by gathering, sorting and writing up materials for dispatch to an international agency where the records could be preserved and compared with data from elsewhere. There are so many variable factors in missionary work that a vast amount of information is needed before one can draw a relatively small number of conclusions. Two subjects would call for special attention at the moment. Firstly, there would seem to be a need for a thorough comparison of the Pentecostal movement in Chile with that in Brazil. Secondly, it is very possible that many of the lessons learned in the course of the missionary effort could be of great value to those who are responsible for the aid programmes to areas of rapid social change. For instance it might be helpful to channel aid funds through an independent board such as the Co-ordinating Committee of the Chilean Baptists. In this way the missionary effort could fulfil its primary task of helping the world on an even wider scale.

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B.N.	Biblioteca Nacional, Stgo.
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E.L.	Evangelical Library, Lon.
E.U.S.A.O.	Evangelical Union of South America office.
H.M.F.	Herbert Money's file, Lima.
M.C.A.	Maranata Church archive, Lima.
M.R.L.	Missionary Research Library, N.Y.
Me.L.	Methodist Mission Library, Inter Church Center, N.Y.
N.O.	Nazarene office, Chiclayo.
P.H.O.	Pilgrim Holiness Office, Chiclay.
P.L.	Presbyterian Mission Library, Inter Church Center, N.Y.
P.O.	Presbyterian office, Stgo.
R.B.M.U.O.	Regions Beyond Missionary Union office, Lon.
S.A.M.S.O.	South American Missionary Society office, Lon.
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AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

My parents are Dutch, but as my father moved to England in 1920 in connection with his work for an oil company, it was in Beckenham to the south of London that I was born on November 11, 1925. I was educated, first at a preparatory school in Beckenham, and then at Stowe public school in Buckinghamshire. From there I went to Trinity college Cambridge in 1943 where I took a war-time degree in Physics, Chemistry, Geology and Electronics. At Cambridge I came into contact with the Inter Varsity Fellowship and committed my life to Jesus Christ and His service. On the day that an armistice was signed with Japan, I was drafted to the Admiralty Engineering Laboratory for research work on batteries. By this time I felt sure that God was calling me to work in Peru, so that when the British government released me in February 1947, I went to the All Nations Bible college for missionary training. During this period I met and became engaged to Margaret Payne, the third daughter of Thomas Payne, the administrator of the E.U.S.A. mission farm near Calca, Peru. In September 1948, while my fiancée took a years training at Ridgeland Bible college, I went to Doorn, Holland to help in the establishment of a Bible school for the training of those who because of financial or other reasons were unable to follow a theological course at a university.

In September 1949 my fiancée and I sailed for Peru for service with the E.U.S.A. She went to Arequipa for language training while I stayed with a Peruvian family in Sicuani and helped Alexander and Maisie Jardine with the Bible school that they were establishing there. In November 1950 Margaret and I were married at Calca, and after a few months at Sicuani were allocated to Huancayo in May 1951. At first the co-operation with the I.E.P. was very inspiring, but the division of 1954 came as a dreadful shock. The wave of nationalistic feeling which followed this division was also very trying, but more than anything else it was the repeated failure of efforts to establish pastors at the main centres which brought me to wonder whether there was not some basic error in the structure of the I.E.P. In 1958 I asked the E.U.S.A. for special leave to study these problems and this request was granted. Thanks to the kind intervention of Professor Hoekendyk it became possible for me to study at Utrecht university and although the course has taken much longer than I originally intended I can only say that this has been one of the most satisfying periods of my life.

